

The Language Question before the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan



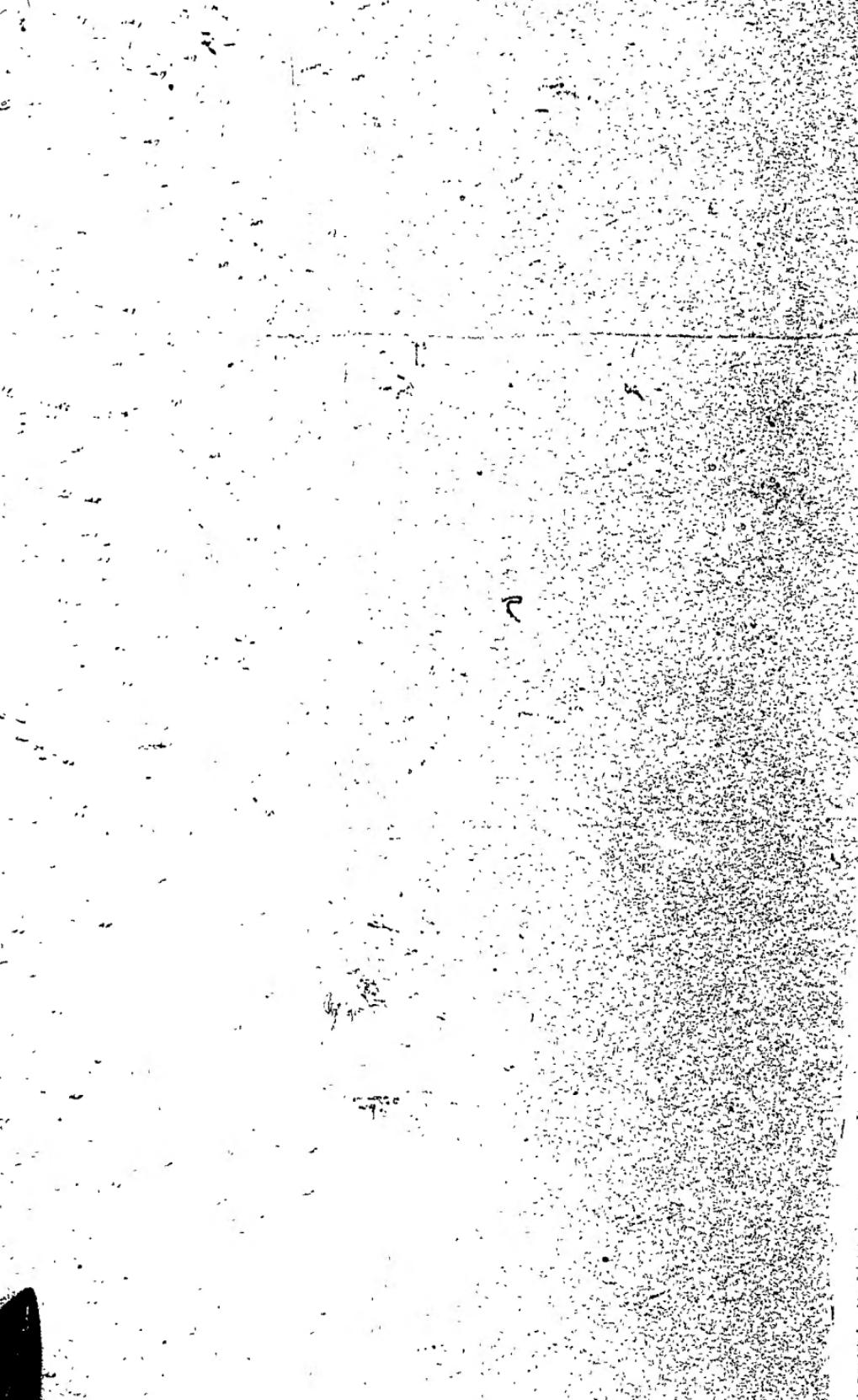
Official Hansard Report of the Debate on Bill No. 31,
"An Act to Amend the School Act,"
December 19th, 1918.



ADDRESSES BY

Hon. W. M. Martin, Hon. W. R. Motherwell,
Hon. S. J. Latta, Hon. C. A. Dunning.

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Hon. W. M. Martin

Prime Minister

191951



HON. M. MARTIN

Upon the second reading of the bill Hon. W. M. Martin addressed the Assembly as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker, in moving the second reading of Bill No. 31, "An act to Amend the School Act" I desire to state at the outset that the majority of the provisions of the bill are of such a character that I do not intend to delay the House at this stage with any discussion of them.

"The majority of the provisions deal with departmental matters and can be well discussed when the bill is in committee.

"The main feature of the bill in so far as we are concerned at the moment deals with the language that shall be used in the schools of the province. Personally I have always taken the ground that English must be the language of instruction in the schools of the province. (Cheers) I think during the past limited period of years in the province sufficient attention has been paid to that subject to justify me and those who know the condition of affairs in the schools at the present time to come to the conclusion that very great progress has been made in that regard in our province.

"As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, while we all agree, I think, that English must be the language of instruction in the elementary schools of our province, I do not think anyone in the province will take any exception to a person knowing another language other than English. The main thing for us to consider is, I think, the best way of arriving at the end we have in view and that is that every child in the province must be given an adequate and proper knowledge of the English language to properly fit him as a citizen of this country. We all know that in this province in the past two or three years there has been a great deal of discus-

sion of our educational system as a whole. Perhaps during the last year more discussion has taken place in regard to the language features of our school life than in regard to any other feature of it. The discussion of our school system by the citizens of the country at large we must all agree is a good thing. As a government we are always willing to receive suggestions in regard to improvements which are thought to be of benefit to all the people of the province no matter whether they refer to school legislation or to any other subject.

"There is one point I would like to make at the present stage of my remarks and that is that the language question in the province has nothing to do with our separate schools. I have received a number of letters in the past few months asking that the legislature of the province abolish separate schools. I can only point out to these correspondents in reply that the legislature of this province and no other body in this province has any power to interfere with our separate school system in so far as the rights of the minority are concerned.

"We have a constitution given us in 1905. That constitution preserved certain minority right in the school districts whether the minority was Catholic or Protestant. In 1905 when we began as a province we had 896 school districts. Out of that number nine were separate school districts. To-day with 4,157 school districts in the province there are 15 Catholic and 4 Protestant separate school districts or a percentage to-day of our total schools of less than one half per cent whereas there was a percentage of separate schools in this province in 1905 of about one per cent or nine in 896.

"In so far as the separate school question is concerned it has nothing to do with the language question. The minority rights of this province whether Protestant or Catholic are fixed by our constitution and no one in this province has any power to curtail these rights. I may add that no one in

Canada has the power, not even the Dominion Parliament has the power to alter that constitution. I am led to make these remarks at this stage on account of correspondence I have received.

"In so far as the language question is concerned, we have power to deal with it. It is a matter of provincial concern and for provincial legislation. It has been stated, and is being stated not only in Saskatchewan but in other parts of Canada and in the press, that there is more illiteracy in this province than in any province of Canada. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, that statement is not correct. It appears to me that it would be a marvelous thing considering the fact that we have had such tremendous immigration up to 1913 of people coming from I might almost say the four corners of the earth, if we did not have a large number of illiterates in the province. But it would also be marvelous if the same condition of things did not exist in Alberta and Manitoba. Let me give you the percentage of illiteracy in the various province as appear in the 1911 census.

"The percentage of illiteracy in Canada as a whole is ten. In Alberta, 12.72; in British Columbia 11.61; in Manitoba 13.31; in New Brunswick, 14.5; in Nova Scotia, 10.34; in Ontario 6.51; in Quebec 12.66; in Prince Edward Island, 7.61; in Saskatchewan 13.70. So far as Saskatchewan and Manitoba are concerned they occupy very similar positions and populations and there is very little difference. In fact, our position in this regard is very similar to that of all the Provinces of Canada.

"It has also been stated that school attendance is worse in Saskatchewan than in any other province of the Dominion. There was some little truth in that statement two years ago but on the other hand there was not a great deal of difference as percentages go when Saskatchewan is compared with other provinces in this country. I am not so sure that it would be to the discredit of this province if our school attendance was lower than any other in the Dominion. We

are, as everyone knows, the most rural province in Canada. To compare school attendance here with Manitoba, where over one third of the population is in Winnipeg, is absolutely unfair. We have no great centers. We have not even the centers to be found in Alberta and we certainly have not the same centers as British Columbia. We know that in out-lying parts of this province, to a greater extent than exists in Alberta or Manitoba, road conditions are not what they should be. The condition of the roads often interferes with the children going to school, especially in the winter months. We know that in many parts of the province pioneer conditions prevail. So that I say if school attendance were worse here than in any other province of Canada it would not be to our discredit.

"One and a half year ago we commenced the operation of a School Attendance Act. I have seen it stated in a section of the press, which should know better, that we had no compulsory school law prior to two years ago. We have always had one. The difficulty was that it was left to the administration of the local people and in many cases it was not administered at all.

"On May 1, 1917, a new School Attendance Act came into operation with centralised control. That Act was only in force from May 1st to Dec. 31, 1917. It took three or four months to get matters into such condition that the enforcement of the act could be commenced. In 1917 we had a better school attendance by seven and a fraction per cent. (Cheers). In 1917 there were 13,000 more school children enrolled in the province than in 1916. I mention these facts to show the improvement that has taken place for the Province is now in a position of which we have no reason to be ashamed.

"It is a very easy thing for people who have not the responsibility of administering the law, or for people who have not got the responsibility of enacting law to make suggestions as to what should be done. In all these matters of

legislation affecting education everyone agrees that it is better for one to proceed slowly and be sure that we are going along proper line. Under the School Attendance Act, in some cases, I have had the greatest hesitation in forcing children two and one half miles from school to attend school on a cold winter day. People have demanded recently that we should do away with the two and a half mile limit altogether and force children no matter how far from school to attend. That might be proper in some of the older parts of the Province but we must consider our pioneer conditions and it is very questionable in my mind whether the time has yet arrived to make such a change.

"Let us look for a few moments at the present law with respect to language. Section 177 of the School Act is the present law. It has been the law in exactly the same terms since 1901. As a matter of fact a portion of it existed in the law since 1888 but it was put in its present form in 1901, and certain regulations were then based on section 177 which are still the regulations in force in this province.

"The present law says that all schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the Board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language. The Board of any district may, subject to the regulations of the department, employ one or more competent persons to give instruction in any language other than English in the schools of the district to all pupils whose parents or guardians have signified a willingness that they should receive the same but such course of instruction shall not supersede or in any way interfere with the instruction by the teacher in charge of the school as required by the regulations and this ordinance. This instruction shall be given between the hours of three and four o'clock in the afternoon of such school days as may be selected by the Board and shall be confined to the teaching of reading, composition and grammar.

"Then there is the further provision which says that any additional expense shall be obtained from the ratepayers, the parents or guardians of the pupils taking advantage of the regulation. That provision was never enforced and is not in force to-day. My personal view is that it is impossible of enforcement. I was faced with that proposition shortly after I became Minister of Education and I came to the conclusion that that particular phase of the law was impractical of enforcement.

"I concluded then that some change was required in the law with respect to instruction in language other than English. The present law, section 177, with respect to the non English languages other than French does not presuppose the teaching of the primary grades in the non-English language at all. It gives a pupil the privilege of being taught his own language for an hour a day. It does not mean that they are to teach it throughout the school but simply a course in that language between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. No question of the direct or indirect method of instruction arises in this connection.

"It is interesting to review what took place in the legislature in the year 1901 when this present law was enacted in the Territorial Assembly. I find on looking up the records that a petition was presented signed by J. J. Schuster and others praying that they might be allowed to teach the German language in the schools. According to the Journals of the House, Mr. Gillis for the Standing Committee on Standing Orders presented the following report: "The Standing Committee on Standing Orders begs to reports that they have considered the petition of Joseph J. Schuster and other prayers for permission to teach the German language in the public schools and recommend that the said petition be received." I find in "The Weekly Leader" of June 30, 1901, in the report of the debate on the following clause: "All schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the Board of any district to cause a

primary course to be taught in the French language." Then immediately a movement was made to extend the privilege given to the French to other languages.

"Dr. Patrick favored the extension of the option given in the clause to the French people to other nationalities though the Germans were the only ones who had petitioned to have their language taught. Mr. Haultain emphasised the importance from a practical point of view of every man in this country learning to speak English. He stated he would like to see every child in the country speaking two languages. Provision, he thought, might be made by which the trustees might employ a competent teacher to give a course in the language of the community without lessening the ordinary English education or interfering with the regular programme of study. This he said ought to apply to Doukhobors, Galicians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and many others. He proposed to let the clause stand that he might work out a clause with this object. The clause was allowed to stand and when it appeared again it took the form of Section 177 of our present School Act.

"And, Mr. Speaker, this act has been in force since 1901. It would appear that at that time in the Legislature there was general agreement that all languages should be permitted in the schools: to-day the weight of option is entirely to the contrary.

"I want to deal for a few moments with the conditions among some of our non-English people. I will not take up the time of the House in giving you statistics to show the percentage of non-English people who have come to this province nor will I deal with the statistics in regard to the provinces of Manitoba and Alberta. We have in all these western provinces and in some other parts of Canada a large number of people who came here in the immigration days. The condition of affairs existing in these schools to which the children of these people go have been very much exaggerated in not only our own province but also in the other provinces

As a matter of fact I am sure that if the people of this province generally understood the actual condition of affairs in the schools among the non-English speaking people we would not hear half as much about the language question as we hear to-day. (Cheers).

"I deem it to be the duty not only of every man in this House, but also the duty of everyone interested in educational matter in this province and interested in the proper development of this province along unified lines, to find out exactly what the condition of affairs is in connection with the schools in his locality before he jumps to the conclusion that conditions are as bad as sometimes painted. I have no doubt in the world but that a good deal of the agitation that has gone on in the province over the past two years is very largely political. (Cries of hear, hear). I was glad to hear the leader of the opposition say that in so far as he was concerned this was not a political question. This attitude is very commendable but if he adheres to his intention he will be the first leader of the opposition sitting in this House who did not make it a political question. (Cheers).

"Most of us remember the election of 1917. The platform of the Conservative party did not come out four square for English as the language of the schools of this province but in every town, and on every road, wherever the opportunity arose of stirring up the English speaking people that opportunity certainly was not lost (Cries of hear, hear). As a matter of fact I had only been in charge of the Department for a period of five or six months. I had not had the opportunity at that time to become very well acquainted with the conditions in the outlying portions of the province.

"I am in the fortunate position to-day that I am able to state the actual conditions. Had I been in that position in the month of June 1917, the statements that were made by men supporting the opposition in this province in regard to what was going on would never have been made with the same authority that they were. I made up my mind that

before long I would thoroughly acquaint myself and the government with the conditions so that when the question was raised again, as I anticipated it would be, I would be in a position to face the matter with the correct knowledge.

"In 1917, members of this government and the men running in the interests of the liberal party were painted by our opponents as being the Hindenburg line of defence. If that is not making political capital out of the question, I do not know anything about political capital or tactics.

"Let us go back to the election of 1912. I am not blaming the leader of the opposition or any member of that side of the House to-day because when we met this Assembly last fall we were confronted with an aggregation of new faces in the opposition. The Hindenburg line of defence had proved somewhat effective.

"Take, I say, the election of 1912, Mr. Speaker, what was the campaign of the Conservative party among the Ruthenians and Galicians in the northern part of the province? Their campaign literature, printed in the Ruthenian language, was to the effect that the Scott government was not doing for them in respect of their schools, not giving them the same concessions as the Roblin government in Manitoba.

"With all these things in mind, there is no doubt that if we could take the whole scholastic side of our educational system and put it in the hands of an independent body like the University of Saskatchewan, who would say what shall be taught and what shall not be taught, I think perhaps we might get better and more unbiased discussion. (Cheers).

"Conditions, Mr. Speaker, are not half as bad as painted. One of the difficulties we have had to contend with in this province, on account of lack of money to spend on educational matters, has been the proper inspection of our schools. We have had a splendid body of inspectors, men influenced by no other motive than the interests of our schools. We have had a splendid body of men. We have a splendid body

of inspectors to-day. They have been more than doubled in the past two years with the object in view of keeping in closer touch with the schools in the outlying parts of the province.

"In 1917 there were 139 schools in this province teaching a foreign language, presumably for one hour a day, out of 4,157 schools. In 1918, in place of 139 schools taking advantage of the present law, only 118 schools are doing it. (Cheers).

"Take the Yorkton inspectorate. Sixty nine per cent of the residents in this inspectorate are non-English people, not British nor Canadian born. In 1918 there were only two schools using anything but the English language. I had the privilege recently of visiting 20 schools in this inspectorate. I remember being in one school where there were 61 children on the roll; all Ruthenians and all present when I was there. If I took up the time of the Assembly I could give six or eight instances of schools where I saw women teachers teaching children who, when they came to school first could not speak English at all. These teachers were living in teachers' houses and doing a work among these people for which they are deserving of the greatest gratitude from the people of the Province. (Cheers).

"Take the Canora inspectorate. Seventy two per cent of the people are not of British or Canadian origin. They are all Ruthenians. Last year 10 schools out of 139 in the whole inspectorate taught other languages for one hour a day and I am informed that, generally speaking, they carried out the intentions of the law. This year the number is 9.

"Take the Swift Current inspectorate, 130 schools. In 1916, 9 schools teaching other languages; 1917, four, 1918 five. Take Assiniboia; not a school teaching anything but English with the exception of the French language. Biggar, two schools teaching German, presumably in accordance with our requirements. Davidson, one; Estevan, none. In

1917 when I was at Yorkton, I found the people there said that there was a terrible condition of affairs in Estevan and yet there is not a school in that inspectorate using any other language than English. Humboldt, 8 schools using Ruthenian; Elrose, none; Elbow, none; Wolseley, one; Indian Head, four schools using German; Kindersley, none; Last Mountain, they are nearly all English speaking people, none; Milestone, one; Moosomin, one. I could go on through the list of some 45 inspectorates. In so far as the inspectorates are concerned the trouble is confined to half a dozen out of some 45.

"And yet newspapers in our own province and in Toronto, with no political end in view, of course, say there are terrible conditions existing in this province. Someone was writing recently about the Doukhobors. Would you be surprised, Mr. Speaker, to know that there is not a solitary Doukhobor child in this province attending any school where there is anything else but the English language taught. We lost some of our Doukhobor population but we have a large section in the north at the present time, all attending school and all of the children learning English to-day. (Cheers).

"The Mennonite question is one by itself. The Mennonites are the only people who do not want their children to learn English. A distinction must be made between the old colony Mennonites and the more progressive class and of the latter we have a considerable number. Among the more progressive class they have taken full advantage of our public school system and there is not a child among them who is not going to school and learning the English language. There are two settlements of people known as the old colony Mennonites, one located north of Saskatoon and one south of Swift Current. There has been a great deal of discussion on this question in this province. These people came into the old north-west territories, so far as the Saskatoon colony is concerned, from Manitoba before we

were a province. The Swift Current Mennonites came since 1905 from Manitoba. You all know and remember the facts in connection with their coming to Canada. They originally lived in Holland and migrated to some part of Germany and lived there for some hundred years and then went to Southern Russia and about 1870 some of them decided to come to Canada.

"Before they came, they sent three representatives over to Canada to see the government and in 1873 an agreement was made with the Dominion government under which they were exempted from military service and given certain privileges in regard to religion and education.

"While the situation is very unfortunate I have never been able to see how we could allow them to continue to have schools where they learn nothing but their own language, the Bible and the Catechism. It was unfortunate that these people came here deceived by some document they had from the Dominion government. In so far as the people who have come to this country are concerned they must be ready to comply with our laws. How about immigration? I do not think anyone will take the position that we should not allow anyone to come into the country who cannot speak English. The main point is that whoever comes here must be given to understand that they must adopt our public school system and see to it that their children are given a proper appreciation of Canadian institutions. (Cheers).

"Some months ago the government determined that the only course we could pursue with respect to the Mennonite problem was to establish schools among them. In regard to that we are having some difficulty and it is not entirely confined to the Mennonites. In one district I have in mind where we put in a school district we found four English speaking families and they objected to the school being build without their consent. We decided some time ago that the only practical course to pursue was to get schools

established among these people, have them pay for the maintenance of the school and enforce the school attendance act.

"I have had a great deal of criticism, not only from people who are connected more or less with the Mennonites, but others, in regard to that position. The criticism only indicates to me that in regard to these matters you cannot satisfy everyone. The only thing we can do is to embark upon the proper course and follow it irrespective of what criticism is raised. (Cheers).

"I think I have given the Assembly sufficient information to justify the conclusion that this problem has been largely exaggerated both here and in the eastern press. The problems we have to deal with in this country in this regard have been forced upon us by the immigration policy pursued by the Dominion Government for a period of ten or fifteen years. From the year 1905-6 to 1913 people came into this country from far away places by the hundreds of thousands and a considerable percentage of the people who came located on the prairies. I lived in this province during those days. At no time did I hear anyone in any portion of this province, nor did I ever see in the press anything to condemn the Dominion government for bringing people to the country. As a matter of fact a great many were urged to come into the country by means of immigration agents sent to Europe and in many cases agents were paid so much per head for each immigrant.

"Having got them here what is to be our duty? The man who has no responsibility in this province may take the attitude that we should drive them out but if anyone is charged with any responsibility in the matter of governing the province it is another question. I do not think that the people generally say that these people, no matter to what nationality they belong, should be stopped from speaking their own language. If anyone holds that view they hold one impossible to carry out. I do not hold that view.

Consider the fathers and mothers of the present children attending our schools. The mothers will never learn anything but their mother tongue. They do not see anyone or mix in the towns. The man, by reason of business necessities, does generally acquire sufficient knowledge to prosecute his business. It seems to me you cannot expect any other condition of affairs to exist. The duty devolves upon us of seeing that the children of these people are provided with proper school facilities and are in school every day possible and given a properly qualified teacher. (Cheers).

"We talk a great deal about reconstruction. If we are going to reconstruct it seems to me that one of the most important things to reconstruct is the attitude of some of our people towards the men who came to this country ten years ago and have been on the farm cultivating the land. We must be prepared to meet these people no matter from where they came. The great majority are citizens of our country, subjects. We must be prepared to treat them with some consideration, (Cheers) and we must not drive any particular creed or nationality of this province into a corner by themselves and create a suspicion that will exist for the next twenty years.

"I do not want to discuss Dominion politics but I have an excuse for saying something about the War Times Election Act in that we are a province where a large number of our people are affected by that law. I am not going to condemn it in strong language. Looking back over the year I have come to what I think is a reasonable conclusion and I say this: the Dominion authorities made one of the worst mistakes that was ever made in this country or any other country when it disfranchised a large section of our non-English born population last year. (Cheers). I am not going to discuss why it was done. That does not matter. Here is a case where men came into the country and under the Naturalization Act that was in existence became naturalized. It may have been too loosely drawn. In 1914 it

was amended to provide for five years residence. In this matter the authorities gave to certain people a certificate which was practically a contract and as Sir George Cave said in the British House of Commons last summer "Naturalization once granted should not be taken away except for cause."

"The Canadian Government approached the question from the wrong end. They said they were going to disfranchise them but as a compensation exempt them from military service. They should have said, you are going to serve the same as anyone else. (Cheers) You will all serve if you are of military age and naturalized British subjects and we will leave you in full citizenship. What did the United States do? If we had followed in this country the same policy of conscription for military service of men of military age every one of these young men of other nationalities would have come back, even if it was only from the railway corps and forestry ranks, prouder than ever of being a Canadian citizen. (Cheers).

"I mention the point for the purpose of indicating that Great Britain and the United States would never think for one moment of taking naturalization away from people who had been given it unless there was cause. In the last year there was a committee appointed in the British House of Commons to deal with the whole alien question. An alien is one not naturalized. The Committee did make some recommendations with respect to naturalized people in the British Isles but the only thing they said with respect to naturalized people was that they should review each case of naturalization since the war began. I believe the course indicated was the proper one. The committee in Great Britain consisted of the best men in Parliament and they made a report to the effect I have stated.

"In Canada we are in the position of being the only country as far as I know that has ever passed any such legislation.

"Let me point out one or two things at the risk of being somewhat lengthy. I cannot make very much excuse for dealing with this matter at some length. Has progress been made in Saskatchewan? If anyone would travel through the sections of the province populated by our foreign people he will find every part of the province organized into school districts. I think someone should get credit for that. I am not claiming credit for the department but I will claim credit for some of our inspectors. A great many of our English-speaking friends have assisted. A large portion of the credit is due to these people themselves. (Cheers).

"We have some regulations with respect to flying the flag. I had a complaint from an inspector that some 15 schools in his inspectorate did not obey the regulations and wanted us to bring the matter to the attention of the various school boards. On making inquiries I found that two-thirds of the schools complained of were districts where there was no one living except English-speaking people. I have never, except in one instance, paid a visit to a school attended by non-English speaking pupils where the flag was not flying inside and outside the school. Some of the trustees I have come in contact with are more than punctilious about obeying the requirements of the Department. A great majority of these people who come from Europe, particularly our Galicians, are very observant of the law. They were trained in their own country. Our experience has been that they are always willing and ready to comply with any regulation or law of the province.

"I have also been impressed in the schools by the singing of the children. A great deal depends on the teacher but in almost every non-English school one visits patriotic songs are sung and the record of the school children in the province with respect to the support of patriotic work since the war began is a splendid one.

"In 1915 among the school children \$27,000 was raised for the Patriotic Fund and from the Department of Educa-

tion one learns that a large portion of this amount came from schools among our non-English people. In 1916 we collected out of the schools in the province \$67,000 for the Belgian Relief and that amount was \$30,000 more than any other province in Canada collected from its school children for the same purpose. (Cheers).

"The Red Cross last year commenced to organize by getting into touch with the school teachers. A large number of these organizations were established among the children in non-English speaking communities. I was in half a dozen last fall where they had the Red Cross organizations, many of the little children learning to knit socks and many of them had an objective contribution of \$4 or \$8 per month. And yet, Mr. Speaker, at an educational meeting in Ottawa recently a certain person made the statement that the schools of Saskatchewan were seething with disloyalty.

"I do not know who is to blame for the fact that this province has been pictured in other provinces in this way. It is well that it be remembered that a large percentage of the people of this province come from Ontario and other parts of Canada and they might just as well admit that some of us who come from Ontario and the other provinces have just as high ideals, British ideals, as anyone who still resides in Ontario. All the loyalty and appreciation of British institutions and customs and our own institutions and customs does not lie within the four corners of the City of Toronto, (Cheers) or in the columns of the Toronto News or Telegram.

"I have done all I can in the last two years to try and instruct the people of this Province as to the actual conditions. Apparently I have not well succeeded. I do, however, blame some of our people for making statements that on investigation cannot be substantiated.

"Two days ago I had a letter from a secretary-treasurer of a municipality saying there were schools where German was being taught. There is not a teacher except one in the

whole municipality who can speak anything but English and that teacher is a French-speaking teacher. I could give you a number of instances such as this. It has been said that we have extended special consideration to groups of people in connection with matters of education. Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that such is not the case. I have never done one thing since I was charged with the administration of the education department to cater to any creed or nationality, nor have I ever been approached by anyone representing any nationality or creed asking for any special consideration at the hands of the Government (Cheers).

"The policy of this government has been and still is to see that every child in this province gets an adequate knowledge of the English language in order that the rising generation, no matter of what nationality, will, in years to come, be able to make progress and obtain a better appreciation of our Canadian institutions.

"I could take up the time of the Assembly by saying something about the direct and indirect method of instruction. We all understand what is meant by the direct method of instruction. This has been a question much discussed by educationalists and it is a question in respect to which there are great differences of opinion.

"C. B. Sissons in his book "Bilingual Schools in Canada", says:

"If anyone wishes to learn most rapidly and effectively a kindred European language he leaves friends behind and immures himself for three or six months or a year within a society which speaks nothing but that language. For the time-being he forgets his native speech and in a foreign environment, with necessity to stimulate energy, he learns to think in the new language as well as to speak and read it."

"On the other hand a commission was appointed in the province of Ontario in 1889 to investigate the language

conditions in the schools and reported that teachers claimed that the French child learns to read English more readily after he has learned to read a little in his own language. A Nova Scotia commission was appointed in the year 1902 and reported that the general education of French speaking pupils should be carried on concurrently with their acquisition of the use of English and that this can be successfully accomplished only by the use of the vernacular.

The Toronto News in 1911 said that, "it may be said that in French communities it is necessary to teach in French because the children understand no other language. As far as the lower grades are concerned this undoubtedly is true. But within two years after the six year old child has started to school, when he has learned to read and write French, serious English instruction should be given. At the age of nine all teaching should be in English."

Dr. Merchant made a report to the Ontario Government in 1912 in which he said that: "The best results are obtained when the medium of instruction is in the beginning the mother tongue."

Principal Sisler of Winnipeg, who had many years experience in schools among the non-English speaking with regard to education among the children in Winnipeg, says:

"When bilingual teaching was introduced in the Ruthenian and Polish settlements of Manitoba the reason assigned was that in order to learn English the child should do so through the medium of its mother tongue and that it should be taught by teachers speaking its own language. In the Winnipeg schools there are less than six thousand school children of foreign parents. These have all learned, or are learning, English by the direct method, — that is, by using pictures, familiar objects, and actions, associating these with the spoken word and then relating it to the written or printed characters. This has been going on at a gra-

dually increasing rate for 25 years and foreign pupils have held their own with those of English-speaking parents."

Dr. Norman Black in his book, "English for the Non-English" makes the following statement:

"In those localities that insist upon the teacher being able to speak the mother tongue of the beginners in English it takes as a rule fully twice as long for the pupils to acquire a working knowledge of English as it requires in numberless good schools conducted by teachers ignorant of the vernacular. At the same time to the teacher who has sufficient wisdom and self control never to use the vernacular in the school room except as the lesser of two evils a knowledge of the mother tongue has been shown to be of value real, even if very secondary."

"Dr. Anderson also has some important views on the matter but I will not take time to read them now.

"What is taking place in Wales. One million Welsh people speak the Welsh language. There is a bilingual system in Wales. Many Welsh people have moved across into Monmouthshire and there is a bilingual school system there.

"In so far as this Province is concerned we cannot allow multi-lingualism. We have a great number of nationalities but the majority do not use any language but English in the schools to-day. The Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, Hungarians, these people do not desire to teach their language in the schools. At the same time the law as it existed for many years permitted the teaching of any language for a limited period a day.

"What is the law in some of the other provinces of Canada? The question of language is an old one in Ontario. If the records of the Department of Education in Toronto

are traced it will be found that it was a question in 1851 and it is surprising how slowly the people of Ontario have moved in regard to the question. If some of the newspapers in Toronto had devoted a little more of their time to their own conditions and left us alone it would not hurt my feelings very much. (Laughter and cheers.)

"At the present time, I am not referring to the law as proposed now, our law and regulations in the province of Saskatchewan are further advanced and constitute to my mind a better law than exists in Ontario to-day. (Cheers)

"In 1851, regulation 8 of the Department of Education of Ontario as to the qualifications of teachers provided as follows:

"In regard to teachers of French and German, that a knowledge of French or German grammar be substituted for a knowledge of English grammar, and that the certificate of the teacher be expressly limited accordingly."

"The province was prepared to allow teachers to go into the schools who knew nothing about English grammar at all. The question of the direct method arose as early as 1851 and a local superintendent reported as follows:

"It appears to me that a teacher who understood the English language would be of no use in such sections as neither the teacher nor the pupil could understand each other."

"It was the custom for a good many years for a German inspector to be appointed in Ontario but I understand that in recent years this practice has been abandoned.

"What is the situation in Ontario to-day in regard to the teaching of German? I will quote from C. B. Sissons in his book "Bilingual schools in Canada", page 33:

"German is still taught in many school sections where the majority of the ratepayers speak that language, but

to an extent which interferes little, if at all, with the general work of the school. In most of the elementary schools of Waterloo County a half-hour each day is given to the study of the vernacular, but in Berlin, now Kitchener, even that has been abandoned as interfering unduly with the general work and organization of the large city schools."

"I said a few moments ago that the government of Ontario had moved slowly. It is interesting to note that in 1885 the Department of Education of Ontario issued its first instructions to the effect that English was to be taught in every school for two hours a day in the first and second forms and four hours a day in the third and fourth forms. That is only thirty years ago. Ontario is much older than this province. We are only thirteen years old. I suppose we might safely say that Ontario has been in existence for close to a century. But it was not until 1885 that the instructions were issued as I have quoted them to you. In Ontario they have a public school divided into four forms and in Saskatchewan we have eight grades.

What is the Ontario law? Let me quote it, Section 84, Chapter 266, Consolidated Statutes of Ontario:

"It shall be the duty of every teacher to use the English language in instruction and in all communications with the pupils in regard to discipline and management of the school, except when it is impracticable to do so by reason of the pupil not understanding English, but recitations requiring the use of a text book may be conducted in the language of the text book."

"And still newspapers in Ontario will talk of the province of Saskatchewan. That law means nothing at all. Let me read it again:

"It shall be the duty of every teacher to use the English language in instruction and in all communications with the pupils in regard to discipline and management of

the school, except when it is impracticable to do so by reason of the pupil not understanding English, but recitations requiring the use of a text book may be conducted in the language of the text book."

"It is the duty of the teacher to use English except where it is impracticable to do so." Our present law in this province is more advanced than the present law of Ontario. (Cheers).

Let me read regulation 12 of the Ontario Department which distinctly allows the teaching of German:

"In school sections where the French or German language prevails, the Board may, in addition to the Course of Study prescribed herein, require instruction to be given in French or German reading, grammar and composition, to such pupils as are directed by their parents or guardians to study either of these languages."

Mr. MACLEAN. "What about Regulation 17?"

Mr. MARTIN: "Regulation 17 deals with the French language and that only, but mark you, when you read it with the law you will find that the German language is more privileged in Ontario than the French language and still the people of Ontario and newspapers speak about the prairie provinces and conditions here.

"What about Manitoba? The former Manitoba law which was in force for a number of years was as follows:

"When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any other language than English as their native tongue, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language and English upon the bilingual system."

"There were instances upon instances in Manitoba where the loose administration of this law which was practised for many years resulted in teachers of different nationality teaching a different language all the school day in

many schools. And still, in the election of 1917, people said that conditions in this province were as bad as in Manitoba.

"The Conservative party was in power in Manitoba. Up to about three years ago the administration of our school system in some parts of this province, particularly the north east, was largely affected in so far as proper administration is concerned, by agitators sent up by the old government of Manitoba for the purpose of disturbing our non-English people and saying, as they did in 1912, that the Scott Government is not doing for you or giving you the same privileges as the Roblin government in Manitoba.

"We have never had such a state of affairs in this province as in Manitoba up to three years ago. Our law, in the first place did not and never has extended such privileges and the administration of the law has not been abused. (hear, hear). Let me point this out; we have not in Saskatchewan any bilingual system and never had a real bilingual system. We did three or four years ago bring into the Normal School in Regina a certain number of Ruthenians who had acquired a certain educational status for the purpose of training them in the English language to enable them to go into some of these outlying districts and teach the children of their own nationality. I am not so sure but what that was a good course because the department could not get teachers to go into schools in some sections of the province.

"I said a moment ago that we have not now and never have had a real bilingual system. Every teacher who is qualified in the province of Saskatchewan or who gets a certificate goes through the same high school and normal schools and the same collegiates. We do not issue bilingual certificates to any one and never have. (Cheers). In Manitoba they issued them to anyone.

"We hear a good deal about the National school system in the United States and I am not here to find fault with any school system in the States. According to figures issued by the Bureau of Education, Washington, there are no less than

two million children in the United States who go to private schools where nothing largely but the German language is being taught. We have in Saskatchewan a national school system in so far as our constitution will permit (Cheers). I would say that with regard to our separate schools that they are national schools. Every school in this province, whether public or separate, is a public school. They get the same government inspection. Again I say we have in this province a national school system. (Cheers)

"As I pointed out at the beginning of my remarks there is a tendency to confuse the separate schools with the language question. We ought to have national schools and on that point let me mention the question of private schools. People say there are a number of private schools in this province. Again I say they are misrepresenting the true facts. They do not know the conditions. Outside of two Mennonite Colonies, where there are 29 or 30 private schools, there are only 17 private schools in the province to-day (Cheers). I am not including the Methodist College at Regina or the Presbyterian Boys College at Moose Jaw or the eleven business colleges or the boys school recently established in this city by the Church of England or two or three convents but outside of the old colony Mennonites we have only 17 private schools in this province. Someone says you do not inspect them. We have been inspecting them. I will have some occasion before the Session closes of saying exactly what we have done in that connection.

"I sometimes see the statement that we ought to have one flag and one language. Everyone agrees we should have one flag but what one language has to do with the flag of the British Empire I have always failed to comprehend. The British Empire is composed of four hundred and thirty three millions of people only a fraction of them speaking the English language. The Empire extends from Great Britain to Polynesia and from India and Egypt to Central Africa and embraces every division of the human race. How are we going to get one flag and one language? Great Britain has

never tried to do it. There are eighty millions of people in India that do not speak the English language.

"Go to the Isle of Man and you will not find the English language. But does anyone question the loyalty of the Manxman? In Malta three languages are spoken in the schools but there is no question of the loyalty of the people. The same applies to those of the Channel Islands. It has never been the policy, Mr. Speaker, of the British Empire to attempt to force down the throats of any people who come under its charge their own language. The policy has been the opposite. (Cheers).

"We all know the policy adopted by Great Britain in respect to South Africa. It is only a few short years since the war took place in South Africa, 1899-1901, seventeen years ago. In that short time what has happened? What is the condition of the people of South Africa to-day? Great Britain allowed them to use any language they liked in their schools. Again I say it has always been the policy of Great Britain when any part of the world came under her charge to make the necessary changes to show that that part of the world had come under her care but to leave the people free with their language and religion and customs, to develop their own nationality in their own way. No doubt this accounts for the success of the British people in their colonizing of the world. No other race has equalled her record.

"I have dealt, Mr. Speaker, about as far as I need in general terms but I would like to make some reference to the French language. The present law in the province is the law that existed in the old North-West Territories. "All schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language." That privilege has been carried down for many years.

"The proposals I have laid before the house will not make any change in the principle involved in the present law but will make the law much more definite. What cons-

tituted a primary course in French in the province has never been defined. It was not defined by regulation in Territorial days.

"In practice it is meant that the French language may be used in the first two grades of our schools and the third grade and the transitional grade. Our present proposal is that the French language may be used in grade one but that it shall not apply to any pupil for a longer period than one year and that at the expiration of grade one the use of French shall cease and the language of instruction for the rest of the grades shall be English.

"We are curtailing to some extent the privileges of the French people in this province, privileges they have enjoyed under the present law. I think I should, for the purpose of discussing this question, go into the historical position of the French people in Canada. To my mind to treat the French people in the same law as you treat all the other peoples who have come to this country and treat them all in the same way would be to deal very unfairly with the French people. (Hear, hear). In dealing with a question of this kind one cannot look at it from the point of view of the extremist. One must take into consideration the historical position of these people in Canada and be prepared to deal with them in a fair and just manner. Let me say that so far as I am concerned I am convinced our proposition is fair and just considering their historical position and I care not what criticism comes from any portion of this House or any person in the province. (Cheers). One of the serious questions we have to face in the question of reconstruction is the matter of intolerance. (Cheers).

"The French people were here before we were. They were ceded or conquered by Great Britain in 1759 when the gallant Montcalm was defeated by the chivalrous Wolfe and by the Treaty of Paris ceded that portion of her domain to Great Britain. They are therefore either a ceded or conquered people. We must be prepared to follow in this regard the British practice in dealing with people of this kind. In

1774 the Quebec Act was passed. This Act sought to satisfy the French in Canada by safeguarding the free use of their religion and the maintenance of their customs. It did not make French the official language of Quebec.

"It is of interest to note what was being said in the British House of Commons when it was being passed. Thus, Sir Edward Thurlow, attorney general of Great Britain:

"You ought to change those laws only which relate to the French Sovereignty and in their place substitute laws which relate to the new Sovereign but with respect to all other laws, all other customs and institutions whatever, which are indifferent to the state of subjects and Sovereign, humanity, justice and wisdom equally conspire to advise you to leave the people just as they are."

"And one might also quote Edmund Burke as follows: "I consider the right of conquest so little and the right of human nature so much, that the former has little consideration with me. I look upon the people of Canada as coming by the disposition of God under the British Government. I would have us govern it in the same manner as the all wise disposition of Providence would govern it."

"This gives us some idea of the point of view of the British statesmen of those days in regard to the treatment that should be meted out to the ceded people.

"I do not require to refer to the Act of Union of 1840 except briefly. The Act of Union definitely stated that the proceedings and reports of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly should be in the English language only. Translations might be made in French but no such documents were to be kept among the records nor have the force of an original record. This provision, demanding the exclusive use of English, was repealed in 1848.

"The British North America Act, 1867, section 133 provides for the use of both the English and the French languages in the Houses of Parliament of Canada; in the Legislature of Quebec, in the courts of Quebec and in the Supreme and Exchequer Courts of Canada.

"That is to say that French and English in so far as the Parliament of Canada is concerned are on an equal basis. All must appreciate the fact that we in Canada are a dual nationality. There is no getting away from the historical position. It occurs to me looking at the question from the standpoint of the whole of Canada that the duty of our citizens and particularly the duty of any one charged with the responsibility of administration is to do all in his power to create a better understanding between the two great branches of our Canadian nationality.

"The Manitoba Act of 1870 provides for the use of both English and French as official languages in Manitoba. This continued from 1870 to 1890 when the French language was abandoned in the proceedings of the Manitoba legislature and an act was placed on the statute books of Manitoba which still stands and in which English is definitely named as the official language of the province.

"It may be of interest to trace the history of the question in our own territories. The North-West Territories Act of 1875 made no reference whatever to the languages to be used.

In 1880 the Dominion Parliament enacted the following legislation:

"Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Council or Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories and the proceedings before the Courts; and both these languages shall be used in the records and journals of the said Council or Assembly and all ordinance made under this Act shall be printed in both these languages."

"In 1890 the House of Commons declared it expedient

that the Legislative Assembly of the North West Territories should after the next general election of the Assembly have the right to decide for itself the question of the continued use of French.

"This was followed in 1891 by the following Dominion enactment:

"Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debate of the Legislative Assembly of the Territories and in the proceedings before the Courts and both these languages shall be used in the records and journals of such Assembly, and all ordinances made under this Act shall be printed in both these languages; provided, however, that after the next general election of the Legislative Assembly such Assembly may by ordinance or otherwise regulate its proceedings and the manner of recording and publishing the same; and the regulations as made shall be embodied in a proclamation which shall be forthwith made and published by the Lieutenant-Governor in conformity with the law and thereafter shall have full force and effect."

"In 1892 this was followed by the following resolution moved by Mr. Haultain and seconded by Mr. Tweed:

"That it is desirable that the proceeding of the Legislative Assembly shall be recorded and published hereafter in the English language only; and the question being proposed it was moved in amendment by Mr. Prince and seconded by Mr. Mitchell; "That whereas in the election districts of North Qu'Appelle, South Qu'Appelle, Moose Jaw, Red Deer, Edmonton, St. Albert, Battleford, Prince Albert, Cumberland, Mitchell and Batoche, there is a large population of French-speaking Canadians; and whereas the French language has been recognised as an official language of the North West Territories in consideration of the services ren-

dered to this country by the First Canadian voyageurs and missionaries who evangelised, civilised and settled there at the cost of many lives; and whereas the French-speaking population is increasing every day and in the interests of the cause of immigration in the North West Territories no act should be done tending to make it appear that the people of the North West Territories are lacking in justice, liberality or political tact in regard to the national interest of every Canadian; Therefore, be it resolved, that it is not in the public interests that any change be made in the system of public printing in the North West as far as the use of the French language as an official language is concerned."

"The Resolution was passed, and English became the official language of the province. I merely quoted this, Mr. Speaker, to show you the history of the present practice in our House and in Manitoba and Alberta.

"I wish to refer to the history of the French language in our schools of Saskatchewan. The first reference in the law of the North West Territories in regard to it is found in the ordinance of 1887 in which is to be found the following enactment:

"All schools shall be taught and instruction given in the following branches, viz, reading, writing, orthography, arithmetic, geography, grammar, history of England and Canada, English literature; and such other studies as may be deemed necessary, may be authorised by the trustees of the district. Instruction shall be given during the entire school course in manners and morals and the laws of health, and attention shall be given to such physical exercises for the pupils as may be conducive to health and vigor of body as well as mind and to the ventilation and temperature of school rooms."

"In 1888 some changes took place in that law. There is an enactment that such other studies may be prescribed as the trustees of the particular school district may deem ne-

cessary and I have no doubt in the world but that these words were put in to enable the French people of this country or the English people (because there were more French than English) to teach each language as they saw fit. The enactment was:

and such other studies as may be deemed necessary may be authorised by the trustees of the district.

"In addition the following sub-section was added:

"It shall be incumbent on the trustees of all schools, organized under this Ordinance, to cause a primary course of English to be taught."

"In these days the majority of the people in the Territories were of French extraction and I have no doubt but that their representatives in the Territorial Assembly had something to say as to what should be done in the schools. Their representatives no doubt to some extent represented their views and the views of the French people of those days were that a primary course of English should be taught in every school. (Cheers)

"In 1892 another change took place in the law when the following enactment is to be noted:

"All schools shall be taught in the English language."

"The balance of the section was unchanged except that the last part of the enactment reads:

"It shall be permissible for the trustees for any school to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language."

"That was carried forward in 1896 and 1901 and ever since has remained in the same condition.

"The French language in this country occupies altogether a different position from the language of people who came here from other countries. French is one of the official languages of Canada. The present naturalization act of this country which was enacted in 1914 and came into

force on Jan. 1, 1916, by agreement with the Imperial Government states that before a man can become naturalized he must have an adequate knowledge of either French or English. I was in the House of Commons at Ottawa when the law passed. I took no objection to it and no one else did so far as I remember. I have had some correspondence within recent months stating that French is a foreign language. I am sure I cannot agree with people who take that view. It is impossible on a question like this to satisfy all the people of the Province. No one who has a proper appreciation of the history of Canada and of the French people can fairly take the view that French is a foreign language.

"Let me read you some things that have been said in past years by some of the greatest of Canadian statesmen in regard to the position of the French people and their language. Take Sir John A. Macdonald. My honorable friends should agree he was a fairly good authority on this question. On one occasion he spoke as follows:

"I do not at all share the view expressed in certain quarters that we attempt to suppress in any way one of the two languages of the country or make one inferior to the other."

"Later, on the question of the language to be used in the North West Territories, he said:

"Are we after one hundred years to be less generous to our French Canadian civilization than were the few Empire Loyalists who peopled Ontario? I appeal to all our friends in the House, without distinction of the bad effect such a course would have upon their electors and to have only one desire, to make all Canadians one people differing only by their literature and their mentality. We will all have at heart the wish to achieve the same end. Our ambitions will be to accomplish one thing, to lay the foundations of a great country."

"Another great Canadian statesman with whom I have no doubt a large portion of the members of the House will agree, Sir Oliver Mowat, also had something to say on the subject. This was in 1889 when the question of English only in the province of Ontario was before the Legislature of that province. Let me note in passing that while that was the question under debate the statute law in the province of Ontario is the same to-day as it was in 1889. Sir Oliver Mowat said:

"The French-Canadians love their language. They want their children to learn it. But at the same time they know that their interests require them to be well acquainted with English also. If you prevent them from teaching French to their children they will shun your schools. If you allow them to teach French to their children, they will be glad to have them learn English also. Such is the policy of my Government. Such is the policy of any intelligent man."

"Dr. Ryerson, the founder of the public school system of Ontario, in a letter says as follows:

"In answer to your letter of April 16th, I have the honour to say that as the French language as well as the English, is recognised as one of the languages of our country, it is both expedient and legitimate for trustees to allow both these languages to be taught to school children if parents require it."

"Lord Acton said: "The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free, is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

"Edward Blake, speaking of the French language in the House of Commons said:

"A full measure and overflowing measure is what the strong should give the weak."

"I have referred to this matter at some length, Mr. Speaker. I have endeavored to point out the historical position of the French people in Canada. This is a question which those who have the interests of Canada at heart should not deal with from a purely provincial standpoint. It must be dealt with from a national standpoint. (Hear, hear).

"If people are to be governed by the spirit of intolerance in dealing with a question of this kind we will never in this country build up a united Canadian people. We have had the French and English speaking people living side by side for nearly two hundred years. The French people have been the pioneers of civilization throughout the whole West. Their explorers and missionaries were travellers through the larger portions of the now Province of Saskatchewan before the English people of Ontario ever thought of coming here at all. As a matter of fact we know from historical records that the French people traced the Ottawa River to its source and discovered Lake Nipissing and the French River before anyone else had sailed that way at all. They navigated the Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods and the water ways that connect with the prairies. They sailed the Red and Assiniboia Rivers and discovered Lake Winnipeg and Winnipegosis and sailed the Saskatchewan River before any of our English speaking people ever embarked on the trip. There are no stories in the history of Canada which tell of such hardships and sufferings. They were the pioneers of missionary work in this country.

"We are all agreed that unity is necessary. I have never been able to get the intolerant attitude against our French compatriots in Canada such as has been expressed on platforms by some of our English-speaking friends and I hope I never will. (Cheers).

"Someone says there has been trouble in the province of Quebec. I am not going to discuss that but will only say this: no matter what may have been the condition of affairs in Quebec it does not justify men who are charged with res-

ponsibility of legislation in this country from doing the fair and just and honourable thing. (Cheers).

"As I say we all agree that unity is necessary. If unity is necessary we will not get it by treating a people who are in this country by reason of being ceded to Great Britain in 1763 in a way that Great Britain would not treat them herself. (Cheers). What would Great Britain do to-day if she had to deal with this question? I ask you what would Germany do if she had to deal with it? In so far as Great Britain is concerned I do not require to answer the question. Neither do I require to answer the question in so far as Germany is concerned except to point to the written history of the past fifty years and to Holstein, Poland, Alsace-Lorraine in each of which countries Germany tried to force the German language upon the people.

"Germany tried to make all these people speak German, Mr. Speaker, but she could not make Germans out of them. (Cheers).

"I am influenced in my stand on this question, Mr. Speaker, very largely by a consideration of what Great Britain would do, and the whole history of Great Britain since she became a colonizing force leads me to the conclusion that if she were dealing with this question to-day she would not only do it in this way, but would also allow the French people in this country greater privileges than we are prepared to give them at the present time.

"We will never have a united people in Canada if we pay attention to the agitators in Quebec and Ontario. Both of them are a menace to Canada. We must depend not so much on agitators for our guidance as upon the large body of the people who I know do hold moderate views on this question and are anxious in the interests of the country to build up a united Canadian nationality from these two great races which have been here since Canada began.

"As I pointed out a few moments ago I have never been able to get the attitude of intolerance towards our French

Canadians or any section of the community we have in this country. No public man charged with the responsibility of government in this land can view the question from the standpoint of intolerance. After all in Canada our two great races are travelling the same road. The French people have their language and customs. The British people have their language and customs. The French people perhaps differ in mentality from the English speaking people of this country. But in Canada as a whole we can go on and develop the entire nation and allow these two great races to develop their own mentality and nationality and use to some extent their own language.

"I have always thought in regard to these questions that if I could during the course of my public career, whether it be long or short, do one little thing to create a better understanding and feeling of unity between these two races, then I will consider that I have not lived in vain as a public man. (Cheers)."

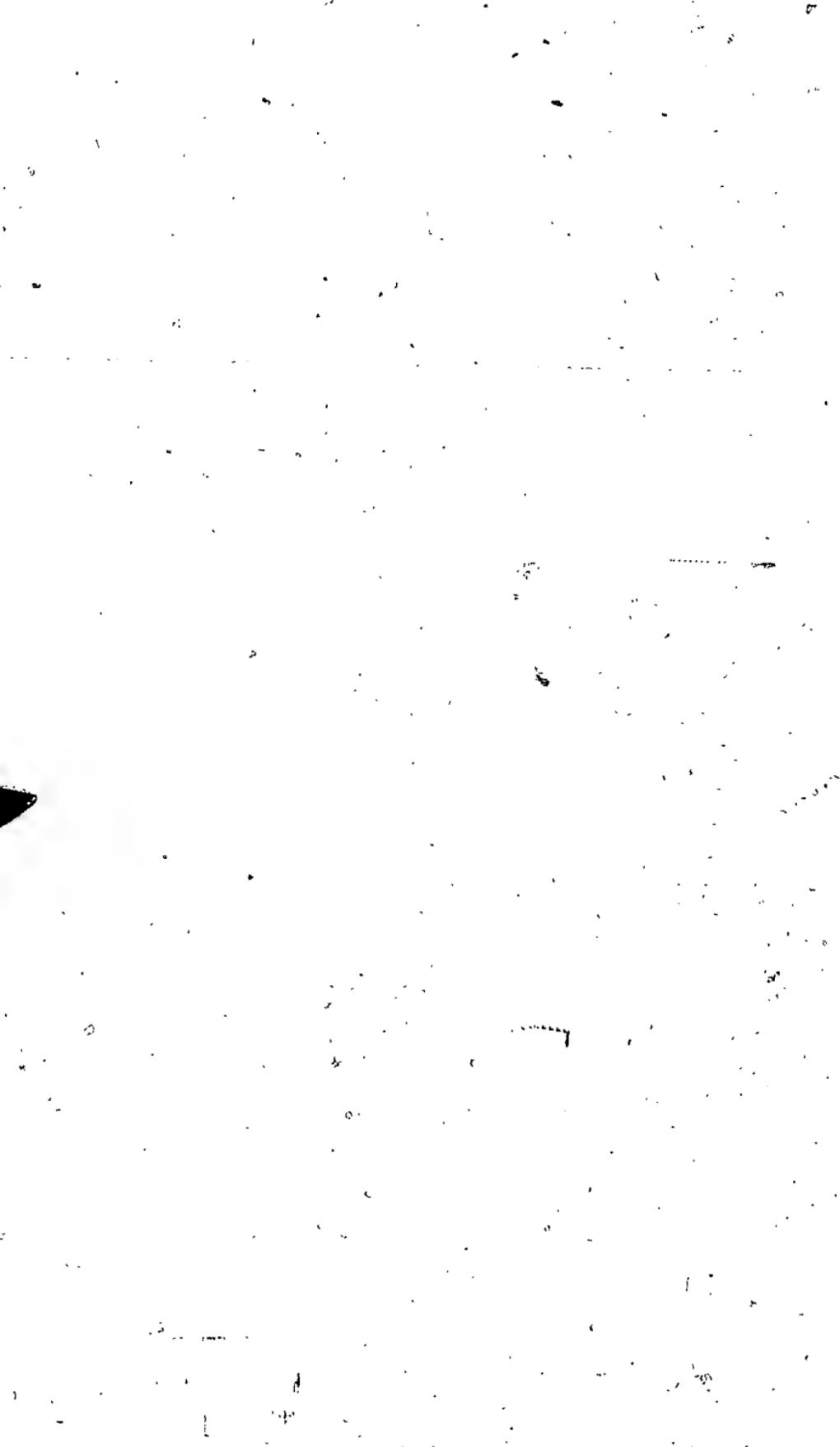
"Let me say generally in regard to the law that is being placed on the statute books; it is being enacted for the purpose of being enforced. We have not in the past two years shrunk from anything in connection with the administration of our educational system in so far as this government is concerned. We will not shrink in the future. In looking back over the past two years and considering the questions that have come before us, in the light of recent experiences I do not know anything that we could have done that we have not done to assure every child in the province getting a proper knowledge of English which is the basic language of the country.

"I have only this to say; as time goes along if it is found that we cannot administer properly the law that is now proposed and if that law is being disregarded by any sections of the community other measures will be taken as necessity requires for the purpose of bringing to every child a proper education in our English tongue." (Cheers).



Hon. W. R. Motherwell

Ex-Minister of Agriculture



HON. MR. MOTHERWELL

Mr. Motherwell prefaced his remarks with an allusion, to the despatch from Calgary reporting Captain¹ the Rev. Murdoch MacKinnon as condemning the proposed amendments as not going far enough and in this connection Mr. Motherwell, after referring to "this rumbling of artillery and rattling of sabres from a well known source," said: "I desire to congratulate the premier that the first opposition he has received comes from such a source, likewise to commiserate the leader of the opposition that his first support comes from the same source."

"Three years ago the Hon. Mr. Scott, then premier of Saskatchewan, launched a notable better school campaign which resounded from one end of the province to the other and raised great expectations of what could be accomplished in the improvement of our educational system which was admitted to be good in comparison with other provinces, but yet capable of being made better. In order to accomplish this desired end a complete survey was made of education in this province by Dr. Foght, a gentleman of high educational and cultural attainments; a resident of the United States and a Dane by birth. After a most exhaustive enquiry along the line indicated, Dr. Foght's report was made public about a year ago which further raised our expectations of the possibilities of improving our school system. While a number of minor recommendations embodied in such a report have already been put into practise, this school bill now before the house for its second reading is the first legislative enactment dealing with school matters since Dr. Foght's full report was made public. The bill in question contains five pages and twenty-two sections, all of which latter are of comparative

unimportance with the exception of really only one, Section 14, and this latter would have been most disappointing and a piece of destructive legislation instead of constructive had public sentiment within this house not induced the premier to change this section from what it was prior to last Thursday to what it is today. I will refer to this matter further on in my remarks.

"Turning to Dr. Foght's report again: Anyone who has read this very full resume of our school situation in Saskatchewan cannot but have entertained very much greater expectations of results than are to be found in the bill before the house. Not only that, but we had reason to expect a different spirit exhibited than has been displayed thus far by this legislative program. Permit me in order to make my meaning more clear in this respect to quote an important passage in the report referred to (from the bottom of page 19 and top of page 20).

"The Race Needs of the Population.—To evolve a school system without full consideration of all the divergent elements in the population would be a gross mistake, and would ultimately work as great a hardship on the alien immigrant as it would at first on the native Canadian. The alien must be understood, first of all. His own inheritance from his mother country must be given full evaluation. Patiently, sympathetically, but firmly, he must be led—and by teachers of highest Canadian ideals who have special fitness and training for this problem. With the right type of schools established in the heart of the non-English communities — faithfully served — the assimilation process cannot long be delayed.

"To educate all its people, without exception, is both the duty and the right of democracy. There are in Saskatchewan, thousands of adults classed as illiterates — a majority of them from foreign shores. If these people have been deprived of educational opportunities in their

youth, it is the duty of the government to extend this blessing to them now in their years of maturity; if they have neglected their earlier opportunities, democracy has the right to demand that they correct the deficiency with government assistance at once. For all such people there should be established, as a part of the regular school system, night schools, part time schools, and other types of continuation schools."

"Where in the Bill, outside of French, is the friendly consideration referred to in the above extract, of the divergent elements in our population and the sympathetic treatment thereof? Or the desire for rapid assimilation referred to; or the anxiety for specially trained teachers and special types of schools, the better and more quickly to Canadianize and assimilate all the people that are coming to our shores? If Dr. Foght is a visionary idealist, as possibly some may take him to be, on these matters to which he refers in the foregoing extract, he is surely on practical, possible ground when he makes in his summary of recommendations, amongst other things, the following: Provision for a gradual organization of strong community schools. Association schools and other consolidated schools. Establishment of special night school classes for illiterates and continuation schools for persons beyond ordinary school age. Establishment of retirement plan for aged teachers. Provision for greater financial support for teacher training. The adoption of gradually lengthened and differentiated study courses for normal schools. The establishment of specialized rural school departments in the normal schools. The organization of model community schools, including homes for teachers in certain non-English communities with government assistance. Establishment of the municipality for school taxation.

"How many, Mr. Speaker of these recommendations, together with the many other recommendations made by Dr. Foght are to be found in the bill now under discussion

and before this house? This was surely the opportunity, when everyone from one end of the land to the other is discussing reconstruction for us to make a mile-stone and landmark here in the reorganization, evolution and reconstruction of our educational system. Not only is our program, as outlined in this first legislation after the close of the war, not constructive but, as first drafted, dangerously near destructive. I am strongly of the opinion, Mr. Speaker, that rather than deal with the education question, especially the language question, at this delicate and highly-strung time when we are yet so near the war and not quite normal that it would have been better to have deferred action till we could act more fully than to have taken this halting and circumscribed action as outlined in the bill. Surely there are other and larger questions to be dealt with than worrying the life out of ourselves and everyone else prematurely on this language question.

"It is quite true that a very considerable volume of public opinion in Saskatchewan, some of it I fear not well informed, want every vestige of every language, except English, expunged from our public schools. But this is due largely to not taking steps in time to inform the public as to the facts of the case on this many-sided question and the artificial campaign of letter writing to members, gotten up for political purposes. On top of this, we have had from time to time extreme editorial articles written on the language question by a certain newspaper whose standing as a readable newspaper should have placed it above such inflammatory methods; all of which has fanned the flame to much greater proportions that it otherwise would ever have assumed. All the more reason, however, there should be cool, calm, deliberate and well thought out action before action is taken.

"Referring to the French language, which is the only phase of the language question that I propose to discuss today, it would surely have been a tremendous blunder to

have taken away at this time any of the practices and privileges enjoyed by our French-Canadian citizens in Saskatchewan for the last thirty years or more. This would have been a mistake, not only provincially, but nationally and internationally. Provincially, because the best sense of our thinking people who have given the question some study and permitted their better self to assert itself are opposed to withdrawing anything from the French that they have enjoyed in our schools for so long and at a time when the dove of peace is settling upon this troubled world after the terrible conflict that has been so happily ended. Nationally, it would have been a blunder because it would probably have repeated a disturbance in other parts of Canada such as the Ontario legislation did a few years ago when it was dealing with a similar subject, the French language in schools, under the famous regulation 17. It would also have been a mistake internationally at the very time when France and Great Britain are being thrown into each others arms more and more as a result of the world's war and the outgrowth thereof. Not only might the stirring up of this question have been avoided at this time by waiting till the public emotions become normal, but also the controversial phases of the school question, including curriculum, text books, etc., might have been referred to a non-political faculty in our university as embodied in a resolution now on the order paper, instead of dealing with the matter politically as we have done in the past and as we are now doing which will not give general satisfaction no matter what is done.

Mr. Speaker, when I made a few remarks last Thursday after the premier had read the correspondence between us relative to my resignation, I intimated that the last straw that had caused my resignation was yet to come down in the form of legislation. I am glad to note, however, on referring to the bill that it has since then been substantially changed with respect to the French language, so that I can now support it. So that I may make this matter quite clear, and I

think the public are demanding that I do make it clear, permit me to first read the proposed draft, under date of August 12, and to which I took such strong exception that I resigned.

"Section 177 of the School act, being chapter 23 of the Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1915, is hereby repealed and the following substituted therefor: "All schools shall be taught in the English language and no language other than English shall be used or taught during school hours in any school in the province, except as hereinafter provided:

"When the board of any school district desires it and passes a resolution to that effect, the French language may be taught as a subject for a period not exceeding an hour each day as a part of the school curriculum and such teaching shall consist of French reading, French grammar, and French composition."

"Now, sir, compare this with the actual bill itself, which I now also read as follows:

"Section 177 is hereby repealed and the following substituted therefor:

"Except as hereinafter provided, English shall be the sole language of instruction in all schools and no language other than English shall be taught during school hours,

"Where it is necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, by reason of their being unable to understand the English language, French may be used as the language of instruction, but such use of French shall not be continued beyond grade I, and in the case of any child, shall not be continued beyond the first year of such child's attendance at school.

"When the board of any district passes a resolution to that effect the French language may be taught as a subject for a period not exceeding one hour in each day

as a part of the school curriculum, and such teaching shall consist of French reading, French grammar and French composition.

"Where the French language is being taught under the provisions of subsection (2) or (3) hereof, any pupils in the schools who do not desire to receive such instruction shall be profitably employed in other school work while such instruction is being given."

"The first draft, under date of August 12, had no reference in it whatever to primary grades, grade one, or first year teaching in French; a most important consideration and omission from the standpoint of our French-Canadian people. The draft now before the house has the entire portion of subsection (2) supplementing the original draft and does make provision for one year teaching in grade one and for one year. I had laid down the dictum that I could not support any legislation that took a hair's breath in the aggregate from our French people at this tremendously critical time, not only in the history of this province, but in the history of Canada and of our allies also. Remember that Foch is a Frenchman.

"Let me repeat: Because the premier did propose to take away the first year teaching in French in his original draft I resigned and afterwards he inserted it, as per section (2) of the present bill. And now, sir, my stumbling block and rock of offence has been removed and I am going to support this bill on its second reading.

"As to any other reasons, I may have had, I told the premier the last thing the night before I left the government that if he would fix me up on the language question as it affected the French that I would swallow the Union government in silence for a while longer. In as much, however, as the premier would not do this, though he has done it since last Thursday, the day of my resignation, I resigned and took an overdue shot at Union government, in passing, on

~~the principle that I might better make a job of it at once, more particularly as I could not before the bill came down, make public its original contents.~~

~~"With respect to the other phases of the language question, I do not propose to speak today and until the bill is in the committee of the whole stage.~~

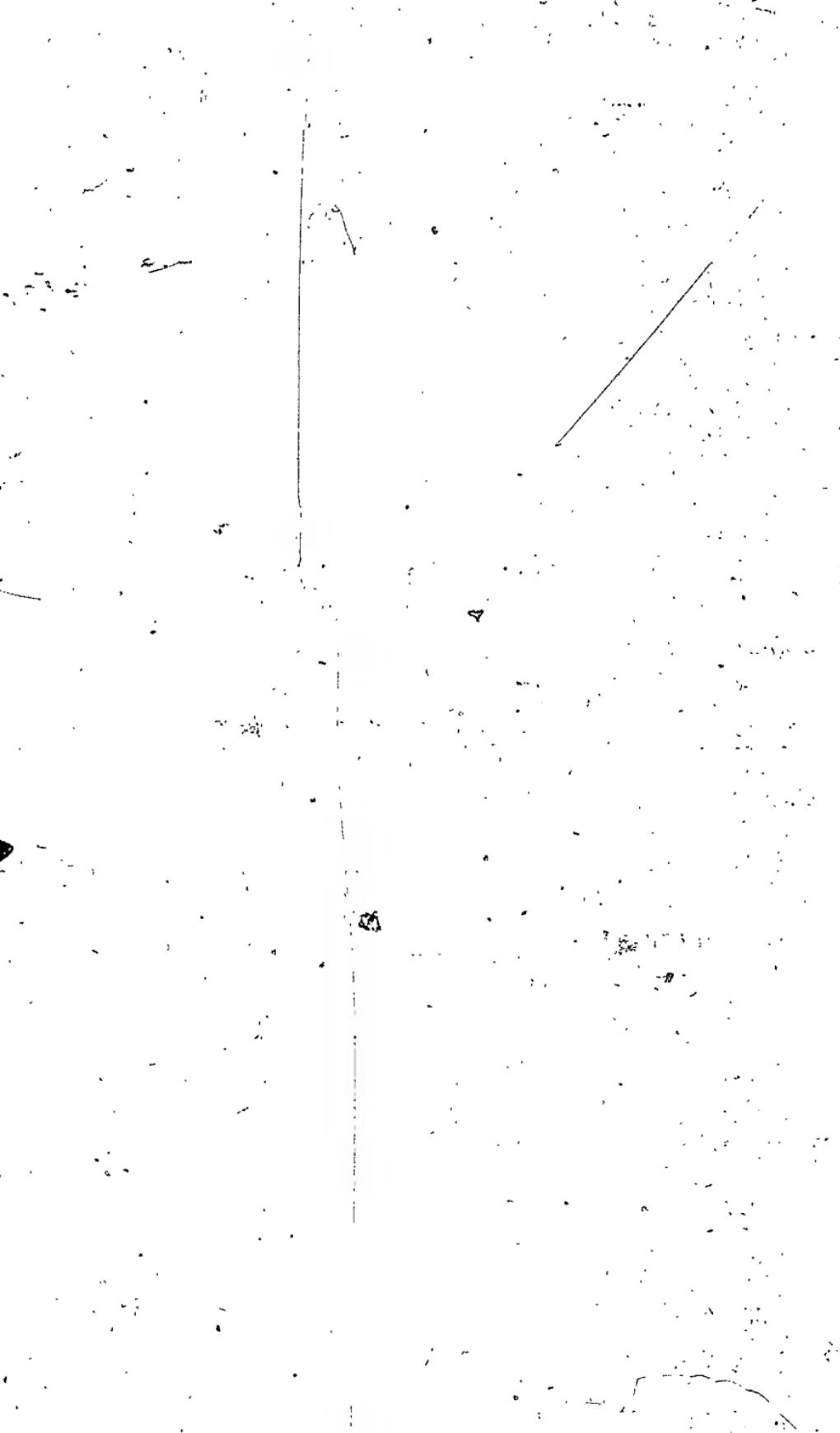
"In the interim I would like to get a pronouncement from the government on one or two points for my subsequent guidance. First: Does the School act authorize the trustees to use the school premises after hours for any educational purpose, including the teaching of languages, or is this teaching authority only implied? Second: Am I right in assuming that the teaching of religion the last half hour in our schools in the mother tongue of the child, is a constitutional limitation that this province cannot remove? When I am better informed on these points I will possibly have some further remarks to make on the bill in the committee of the whole. In the meanwhile, I vote for the bill on its chief outstanding principle, that is, on retaining to our French people enjoyment to the full of the teaching privileges that they have been given and permitted since the very earliest territorial days.

"Small and circumscribed as the bill is compared with the dozens and scores of big things that are patiently awaiting to be undertaken, nevertheless I am going to vote for the second reading of it."



Hon. S. J. Latta

Minister of Highways



HON. MR. LATTA

"Mr. Speaker: I rise to offer some observations on this question. It occurs to me that I can agree with the leader of the opposition in his remarks that nothing greater than this question can arise for this Legislature to deal with. I agree with him, too, that we should not permit anything to enter into the consideration of this question that savors of party politics or that savors of prejudice or personal feeling or anything of that kind. The question is too great. It deals with too great a matter to let any of these things enter into its consideration.

"I am not so sure that the passage of this bill will settle the matter for all time to come. Personally I do not believe it will. I am not so sure that the leader of the opposition or any person in this House or the province has any guarantee to say that any measure brought down will settle the question either. This question has been in Canada since Canada was Canada and it will be with us until every man, woman and child in Canada has reached that point in sentiment where each will be able to carry out the ideal for which the British flag stands. We are all so prone to human frailty and while this is so, and while human minds have the making of laws, and while we have French speaking Canadians and English speaking Canadians in this country, this question will be with us and it will remain with us until such time as French Canadians cease to be French Canadians and English Canadians cease to be English Canadians.

"I approach this matter with a great deal of diffidence, Mr. Speaker. So many things have to be considered. As a boy at school, I was taught never to come to a decision upon

one premise. Take all the matters into consideration that affect the case and then if you can, as well as your intellect will allow, make your decision. Even then the decision may be wrong because after all we are only human.

"Before entering into a discussion of the subject, I would ask pardon if I make a few personal references. I spent nearly a quarter of a century teaching in a public school. From 1887 to 1894 of this time I spent in the teaching of a school composed of children who came the first day knowing little or no English. Myself and two or three others were the only English speaking people in the village. I applied for the school and one of the things asked me when I went to the school was this; the chairman, who was a German by descent, said, "Do you speak German?" I wanted the school and I had taken German at school. I could translate it and read ordinary sentences and while I was hesitating as to what answer I should give the other trustee started to talk German to me. He spoke so fast I did not have time to translate it and I was forced to say I could not speak German. The chairman said "You are the man we want because we have come to this conclusion; we are going to try and see what a teacher can do in our school who is not able to speak to the children in their mother tongue."

"As I have said I stayed with the school from 1887 to 1894 as principal. I could not speak German. I learned to understand these people. I lived with them and beside them. I believe I understand that section of our foreign people as well as anyone. When I now read the names of many of those boys in the honor rolls and casualty lists I am bound to resent the placing of some of the things that have been placed as the foremost object to be attained by the public school system. I again acknowledge human frailty and the ever present danger of prejudice. I have a son, an only son, at present "over there" in France, and, looking at this question as I do from every side, I am bound to say that the only

endeavor that is worthy is the one that will seek a solution according to our best conception of the British way. I have my mind made up and it has been made up for 30 years. I have not changed a bit. I believe the same tonight as I did 30 years ago. In order that my opinion may not unduly prejudice or influence anyone — because I only obtained my experience in one place — I shall later on risk the indulgence of the House by reading authorities in order to assist us to arrive at a decision that will be fair and just.

"It would be impossible to deal with all the phases of this subject if I were to stop here till morning. The language problem is only a part, possibly a great part, in the solution of the larger problem of making the public school do the thing for which it was established. I want to impress that upon you. Another thing I want to impress is that the French people were in this new land when it was ceded to Great Britain. Then came the English and before these two people ever became acquainted with each other or intermingled, the population was augmented by thrifty Germans, hardy Scandinavians, persecuted Jews, freedom loving Poles, peace seeking Mennonites, peculiar Russian Doukhobors, Ukrainian peasants and a score of others, until we have one of the most mixed people in the world.

"I recite these facts, Mr. Speaker, in order to impress on you and the members of this House the greatness of the problem before us. We encouraged immigration. We profited by it and we must now shoulder the result of it. In doing so, since deportation is mere nonsense, unity must be the guiding principle of our efforts. The problem must be solved and if we cannot solve it to-day we must go as far as we can towards its solution.

"I believe there is very little difference of opinion, from an economic point of view, that everyone in our Canada should speak a common language. I do not mean by that that we should force everyone into the groove of speaking

one language only but I say that for the sake of economy and business and what it will do to unite us we should be able to speak a common language. It must be the English language. What will our common ideal be, which is more important than language? I cannot define it but I do know that it will be British, and I know that it will contain characteristics from the fact that we have all these people with us, the characteristics of respect for others, protection of the weak, security of the rights of minorities, the principles of right and justice.

"That will be the composite nature of the ideal we seek. The history of the British race teaches us the futility of effort to force all into one mould. We must recognize the British principle that each may contribute something in art, literature, devotion, music, patriotism, idealism, thrift, industry, intellect — something worth while to the composite character of the future Canadian nation. Whether we like it or not, our evolution in Canada will be similar to that of the British Isles. The British character evidences color of each of the various peoples who have come to live in them. The same in this land; the composite nature of our future citizenship will evidence color, much or little, of each of the peoples of our population.

"It is my desire, Mr. Speaker, to reason out this matter in as logical a way as I can, and so I have arranged what I have to say in the form of asking two or three very pointed questions. First of all then; what is the purpose for which the public school exists? Why have we got a public school? What is it for? What has language to do with citizenship? Is it in the interests of all that we should speak a common tongue? Is it an advantage or otherwise to speak in a language other than English? Will a common language of instruction increase the efficiency of Saskatchewan schools in the production of the best and highest type of citizenship? If so, what should that common language be? Does

the teaching of another language than English in the public schools lessen the efficiency of the school in the work of imparting the best possible education in English, which is a different question? Having in mind the object to be attained and the facts in answer to the previous question, what other things are worthy of consideration in deciding the proper action to take?

"First, again, what is the purpose of the public school? It seems to me that if we are going to deal with this question at all and arrive anywhere we must get down to the business of answering this question. For what reason, I ask, does the public school exist? You can argue around it as much as you like. The greatest educationalists of all time have practically agreed on what the purpose of education is. The making of athletes, intellectual giants, the preservation of life, the cultivation of good manners and aesthetic tastes, the development of artisans, professional men, are all admirable in themselves; no one doubts. Good fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, patriots and citizens — this is the order, I submit. Again, argue the matter as you will; and, after you have gone round and round it you will reach the final place — the production of good citizenship in our country, good British citizenship. (Cheers).

To make men and women who know the British character, who have an understanding of British institutions, who have a belief in righteousness, justice and freedom by which they have been built up. To do its full duty the public school must develop men and women who are concrete exemplifications of the British spirit, who, as this great struggle has demonstrated, will sacrifice life itself to save these things for the benefit of himself, his family and his fellows.

"Come then to my second question; what has language to do with citizenship? I agree with anyone who says that language plays an important part in the making of citizens.

But it does not do all there is to do. It is not the only thing, and, do not be let astray in the thought that it is. I can easily conceive of a condition of things that in the interest of all it might be to some extent a sacrifice. Were I to acknowledge that language was the only thing, what would I be saying? I should acknowledge that citizenship, patriotism, was a thing of the mouth and not of the heart. One language has all the advantages of one literature, but there are also advantages in other literatures. It forms a common bond; but there are other common bonds. It is a great factor in unity; but there are other factors in unity.

"Permit me to outline the factors that in my view should be considered in building up a nation, because if we have good individual citizens then the composite citizenship will be all right. These are the factors I submit; race identity, common language, unity of religion, identical economic interest, geographical compactness, common history and tradition, one theory of government. If we cannot get all these we must get as many as we can. I do not know that we can get identity of language by force. My honorable friend has said that he is going to settle the question for all time to come. Germany was going to settle it in Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 but it was not done. Unity of religion we do not possess.

"Let me ask, Mr. Speaker, what is the British way of operating regarding these things we have not got? To produce good citizens we must seek the British way. Let me read two quotations on the British way. Lord Acton said: "A state which is incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself; a state which labors to neutralize, to absorb, or to expel them, destroys its own vitality; a state which does not include them is destitute of the chief basis of self-government."

"This is a greater authority than I. Let me read you another. General Smuts gave expression to similar sentiment when he said:

"What I feel in regard to all the Empires of the past, and even in regard to the United States, is that the efforts have always been towards forming one nation. All the Empires we have known in the past and that exist today are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. You do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality."

"If that principle is good enough to control an unwieldy thing like the British Empire, we should take a leaf out of the British Empire's book. That would be good business.

"Will a common language of instruction increase the efficiency of the public school in the production of the best citizenship possible? If I were to admit, as I have not admitted, that language was everything, the answer would be easy." England, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, the Channel Islands, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Africa — think of them all and then go to the battle line in Europe, while, black, yellow, Jew and Gentile, and heathen, all with a common object. There is something to unite them all. All are willing to lay down their lives for it and they speak a babel of tongues.

"Let me quote you a few statistics. Wales, in 1900, contained nearly a million people who spoke Welsh and not English. Approximately 280,000 people in Wales spoke only Welsh and competent authorities tell us that fifty per cent of the children when they enter school speak only Welsh, and, I believe that Lloyd George at home in the bosom of his own family speaks Welsh too. Within the last thirty years more than 10,000 Welsh books have been published.

"Let us go to Scotland. Over 200,000 people are bilinguals — English and Gaelic — and over 28,000 speak Gaelic only. Yes, England has been wrestling with the pro-

blem for over 100 years and yet my honorable friends across the House are going to settle it with one stroke of the pen for all time to come.

"Ireland; the land of great contention. Mark my words, British sentiment, British principles, British practice, the British way of dealing with things that are different will settle the Irish problem some day. It is a principle of compromise. In Ireland over 600,000 people speak English and Gaelic and over 200,000 speak only Gaelic.

"Norman French is the official language in the Channel Islands. English is taught but practically every person in the Channel Islands is a bilingual living under the British flag. Three hundred million people of India speak fully two hundred languages and dialects and worship according to the beliefs of one hundred religions. One fifth of the land surface of the globe, and one quarter of all the people constitute the British Empire of which over fifty millions are of European descent, the remaining three hundred and fifty millions knowing no English. In every colony there are hundreds of people who speak no English. In our own Canada, the Mauritius, South Africa, all recognize English and the native tongue as official. Even in Zululand, in addition to English, the children are taught in their native tongue.

"I refer to this question at length, Mr. Speaker, because I want to get at the heart of the thing and the sentiment of the British way of dealing with it. My answer to the question is this; under certain conditions yes, and under certain conditions no. I cannot answer it any other way. You say what shall that common language be? There is no disagreement with that.

"Does the teaching of another language other than English lessen the efficiency of the school in the work of imparting the best possible education in English?

"Here is an important matter. For the reasons I have outlined all should know the language of communication

within the state. Opinions, I know, differ. The premier made some reference this afternoon to it and to the different opinions and I have a great many more here. The difficulty is just this; in our country we may place our children under three heads; (1) those who have been British from earliest history; (2) those who came under the flag by consequence of territorial agencies; (3) those whose ancestors came here more or less individually or in groups. As I say, opinions differ. If it be a matter as to whether or not we are going to fortify them with the English language, it is a matter even more serious than the other.

"I could read you opinion after opinion, all differing. Having in mind this conflict of opinion and the object to be attained by the public school, and having in mind also the part language plays in the attainment of this object, what other things are worthy of consideration in deciding the proper action to take?

"We cannot settle it if we read these opinions because we become merely more confused. One great teacher with a splendid reputation will say the teacher does not need to know the mother tongue of the child. Opinions differ. I myself believe I would rather go into a school of non-English children and not know their language at all. In my own town of Zurich, Ontario, a boy came to me who did not understand a word of English. The last six months he was my assistant teacher, passed his examination in English, just like any other child. The purpose of the school is to make good British citizens and I think I have conclusively shown you, at least to my own satisfaction, that a common language it not all that is required.

"I think it is an impractical thing to have the teacher on all occasions understand the mother tongue of the child. Let me read something again that will perhaps help us to arrive at the solution of our difficulty. I quote from the debates of the Imperial House in 1763-1774, Lord Thurlow:

"If it would make them happy, undoubtedly let us give them English laws. If the English laws would be a prejudice to them it would be absurd tyranny and barbarity to carry over all the laws of this country by which they would lose the comfort of their property and in some cases the possession of it. As far as that goes I consider it merely as a gift of the conqueror to the conquered people whom he does not mean to treat cruelly. When the Crown of Great Britain makes a conquest of any foreign established country, if it be true that it is an article of humanity and justice to leave the country in possession of their laws, then I say, if any English ressort to the country they do not carry the several ideas of laws that are to prevail the moment they go there; it would be just as wise to say if an Englishman goes to Guernsey the laws of the City of London were carried over with him. I would have consulted the French habit to a much greater extent if it had been for me to frame the laws."

"Is it not as clear cut as it can be? The man who comes to this country from another country is on an entirely different basis to the man that is in this country. I have no great objection to the law as it stands. I am going to be frank about any injustice I see in the bill, and I believe I am as loyal as most people. Certain people had a privilege, not a legal right except in so far as this province gave it to them, and now we are taking away that privilege. It may have a tendency to destroy the unity we want in this country. The privilege has not been taken advantage of to any great extent except in a few schools. I am speaking of the people who came to this country. It has only been taken advantage of to a meagre extent, therefore I shall support the bill because I am anxious to one thing; I am anxious to make these people British citizens—I will not acknowledge that the teaching of them in their own language does not help to make them British citizens, but, as they use it to a limited extent, I shall go the whole measure of the bill and cut it out. The life of the child is short at school. The question of the

other languages will solve itself. The Germans are a commercial people. They want to learn English for economic purposes. The bill will help to concentrate on the one thing of teaching them English and on giving them the best possible education in the English language, the common language.

"I must tire the House if necessary to deal with the problem that seems to be the crux of this whole thing. We must consider whether or not the French people are on an equal footing with all other non-English-speaking people in Canada. I do not believe they are. I will not acknowledge that the teaching of another language always disturbs the object for which we create the public school. While in theory I might be willing to eliminate all the languages but English for the sake of getting better English I am forced to consider other things.

"The leader of the opposition said something about consistency. "French is not the official language of this province" he says, and technically he is right. It was at one time. The question is a greater one than merely provincial although legally and technically we can deal with it. It touches the whole Dominion of Canada. I agree with the leader of the opposition that the fact that France has been our ally in the world war is not a sufficient reason for giving French special consideration, but, as I say, I have to differ with him on the conclusion arrived at from the fact that French is not the official language of the province. Saskatchewan is an integral part of our Dominion. Confederation came as a result of a compromise for the sake of unity. French was the official language of the Dominion and because we have the legislative power to wipe it out I cannot see the justification of violating the principle upon which Confederation unity was founded, simply because we have that power.

"Mr. Speaker, democracy does not make for the forcing of all into the same groove. It preaches equal right to live

and equality of opportunity but in every other aspect it makes for inequality and individual development, like the leaves of the trees, the grasses in the fields and the faces of God's people. Let us apply the principle to this question. We have to refer to Canadian history. I see around me men who were not born in this country. Not British citizens by birth. I want to run over the history of Canada and see whether we can arrive at a point where we can see that the French people stand on a different basis towards English than any other non-English in the country.

"As I go through our history briefly I want to try and grasp the sentiment, the principles. What is the principle that has prompted the people all the way through our history? They had a common object. Everyone in this house has the same object. We may differ in the method of attaining the object but there are certain similarities. From 1760 to 1763 martial law was distasteful to the French. With good reason they hoped for the removal of distasteful things when the treaty would be signed in 1763. The proclamation of the King of England to the new governor made it possible for some who did not desire to observe the law of the treaty to violate its sentiments. The governor was misinterpreted or did certain things that the French people did not think were wise and there was conflict. In 1763 this was cleaned up to some extent when Canada passed to the British. There was constant conflict and the coming of immigrants from the old land increased the difficulties.

"I shall read again from the debates just to show what the sentiment was. Hillsboro wrote to Carlton saying:

"It was most unfortunate for the colony of Quebec that such a pack of ignorant and uninterested men were sent over to carry the proclamation into execution."

and he continued to say that he did not pretend to be a judge in a legal sense of the document of 1763, but that he had something to do with it, and, that it never entered into the idea to overturn the laws and customs of Canada.

"Again when General Murray became governor conflict of opinion maintained. I shall read from the debates and we shall see again that the attorney general of Great Britain laid down this very important principle:

"There is no maxim of common law that is more certain than that a conquered people retain their ancient customs till the conqueror has proclaimed new laws."

At this point Mr. Latta moved the adjournment of the debate.

Before the House adjourned, the following statement was made by Premier Martin:

"The member for Kindersley has referred to certain things that took place before he left the government. It is not possible for me to discuss what took place in the government before the honorable member sent me his resignation. I can, however, go this far and make the statement that in so far as the French language is concerned no decision was reached in that regard before the member for Kindersley left the government. At the same time he was fully acquainted with all that was in my mind in regard to the matter. If you will read the correspondence that took place at the time of his resignation you will find that the honorable member for Kindersley really left the government because I refused to agree to condemn the dominion government on this question. The language question was entirely a subsidiary one."

Mr. MOTHERWELL: "Mr. Speaker, I could not very well hear what the prime minister was saying just now but if he means to infer that I have done anything dishonorable about the matter I would like him to make that statement in writing or loud enough for me to hear him. With regard to the statement I read I received that statement after I was a member of the government and I received it honorably."

Mr. MARTIN: "Mr. Speaker, I think the honorable member has misunderstood me. I did not refer to the docu-

in so far as the privilege to be given to the French people is concerned, was not reached until after the honorable member had left the government although at that time he knew all that was in my mind with regard to the question. I also made the statement that if the correspondence is read it will be found that the reason why the honorable member left the government was because I was not prepared to condemn Union Government because it was a matter entirely extraneous he read or as to the manner in which he obtained it. What I said was that the decision in the language question was quite clear to me in view of the work of this Legislature."

Mr. MOTHERWELL: "Mr. Speaker, the correspondence does make it quite clear."

The House then adjourned at 11.30 p.m.

DECEMBER 19, 1918.

Upon the calling of the adjourned debate on the act to amend the School Act.

Mr. LATTA addressed Mr. Speaker as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, when the House rose last evening and the debate adjourned I was endeavoring to review in a brief way the history of Canada from the time it came into the possession of the British Crown, 1763, with the object to drawing the attention of the members of this House to some of the things that were done from time to time that would be well for us to consider in deciding our attitude towards the language section in the bill now before the House.

"I had got down to where there was some agitation for the passage of what is known as the Quebec Act in 1774 at the time when the colonists in Canada numbered about 90,000 or a little over. Six hundred English about that time were here and about 90,000 French. I was endeavoring to demonstrate by reference to the events of that day what the attitude of both the colonists and the English was towards a solution of their difficulties. I was about to point out that

while they agreed as we agree on the object to be attained there were some differences as to how that should be done and I went on to draw the attention of the honorable members to the fact that a common sentiment was to be found in their differences. They desired to attain a common object and even while they differed in the method of attaining it there was a common sentiment prevailing.

"I was reading, Mr. Speaker, when we adjourned last evening, from certain parts of the debate which took place at that time and as I said yesterday, I would risk monotony in reading this because I want to accomplish two things, first, to convey to you, not my own opinion, but those of men greater than I or anyone in this House and, second, I do not want to trust to my own language to convey the thoughts of these men.

"Let us look at some of the debates of 1768 in connection with this matter in the Imperial House. Lord Mansfield laid down this maxim: that, "the laws of a conquered country continue in force until they are altered by the conqueror," and maintained that such a maxim was incontrovertible. Lord North, in dealing with the same problem at the same time, said that if it would make the Canadians happy undoubtedly they should be given English laws. He considered it merely as a gift of the conqueror to the conquered people whom he had no intention of treating cruelly.

"So much then for the agitation that took place at that time. Even then after the act had been passed and they were given a law that the best minds of Great Britain thought would solve the difficulties, these difficulties were not solved and the agitation went on. The Quebec Act was passed. It made it possible for the French people to hold office; it gave them the English criminal law but in other laws it gave them the Customs of Paris. And yet the question was not settled. It went on because we had unreasonable men among the British colonists and among the French.

"Edmund Burke, who should be considered an authority on this subject, maintained that to give the colonists English laws would solve the problem but at the same time he said, speaking of the principle of tolerance, that he considered the right of conquest so little and the right of human nature so much that the former had very little consideration with him. He looked upon the people of Canada as coming by the dispensation of God under the British government and he would govern it as the all-wise dispensation of Providence would govern it.

"Fox also spoke on the question. He said that the Canadians were his first object and expressed himself as being concerned mainly with their happiness and liberties. That was the principle on which he stood.

"Time went on. They got the act but the agitation continued. There was an agitation for some other solution and so the Quebec Act was passed. About that time there was a proclamation: I shall not go into all the trouble of that day. There came the proclamation in 1775 of Washington, which was circulated through this country calling for recruits to join the revolters. I shall only read one or two quotations from it:

"Come my brethren. Unite with us in an indissoluble union. Let us run together to the same goal. Come then ye generous citizens, unite yourselves under the standard of general liberty."

"There was another proclamation from d'Estaing in 1778 directed to the French Canadians. He was commander of the French fleet assisting the colonies, and he said:

"Can the Canadians who saw the brave Montcalm fall in defense, can they become enemies of his nephews?"

and the proclamation continued in this vein appealing to the British colony to join the colonies in revolt against the British Crown.

"What was the effect of it all? History tells us. I always have had and still possess every sympathy for the United States in their fight for the thing they sought, but let me draw your attention to the fact, that although official Britain proceeded in a domineering attitude towards the United States, the friends of democracy and democratic institutions and the freedom of these institutions were among those to plead its cause across the seas. In the British House of Commons what did Burke say? He said:

"The colonists are the sons, not the bastards of England."

"Since that time, Mr. Speaker, history has proved the ability of the revolting colonies to work out their own salvation in all of the things that democratic government stands for. What does history record? Thirteen states broke away from the British Crown but the French colonists stood firm in their faith in British principles and men in Canada. At that time French speaking and English speaking Canadians saved this country to the British flag. (Cheers.) We must not, we cannot forget these things; they have a meaning to us all.

"What else happened? There was the Peace of Versailles in 1783 which fixed the boundaries of Canada practically as they are today. I am a descendant of those who loved that flag and who did not want to live under the flag of the American Union, that settled in Ontario, the United Empire Loyalists. They came to Canada from across the border and settled here. Why? Simply because they thought, not of their differences, but of the things they had in common in their souls. Call it mere sentiment if you will. Canada's people were divided in race, and religion, and language, but they were united in their zeal and faith in British institutions and British justice.

"I do not want to be understood as saying one thing to offend any United States citizen who has come to this country. There was a difference of opinion. The American

colonists thought they had one solution and others thought they had another solution. Those American colonists who did not think that separation was the way to solve the difficulty, settled in Canada and each has worked out exactly the same problems in its own way.

"It seems to me that I must add one other point in order to have the line of thought complete. Was the agitation stopped? Was the problem solved? Not by any means. The agitation still continued and the problem was still to be settled. In 1791 the Constitutional Act was passed. It seemed at that time to be the best thing possible to be in keeping with the progress the colony had made and though Burke and Fox did not agree in the method — in fact they differed to such an extent that Fox crossed the floor of the House — the reading of their speeches of that time will convince the most prejudiced mind of their unity of purpose to conciliate and reconcile.

"Things went on until something happened of which I wish to speak. In 1837 irresponsible government in these colonies brought about a condition that the colonists could stand no longer. What happened? In my younger days the heading written at the top of the account of this incident used to be printed "The Rebellion of 1837." Take up your history of today and what is it now? "The Patriots War of 1837." There is meaning in that. What happened? Without going into the whole thing we find the names of Papineau and McKenzie, French and English, both united to get what we enjoy today, responsible government. (Cheers). However much we may disagree with the methods, and however much we may censure them for some of their acts, we are forced to observe certain facts. There was no difference of opinion. Both French and English believed in it and worked for it.

"I come to the next stage, the Act of Union, which was supposed to be a solution for all the difficulties. Did it solve them? No. As time went by and the colony grew, a greater

union looked up in the future until finally seventy two resolutions were presented, the sentiment of each containing that of the first:

"That the best interests and present and future prosperity will be promoted by federal union under the Crown of Great Britain affecting the principles just to all."

The spirit of the debate was the same as it had always been. Read the debates on Confederation. Sir John McDonald, Cartier and George Brown again vieing with each other in the presentation of this sentiment! Sir John McDonald acknowledged that there were great statesmen in the lower province and great statesmen in the upper province. He pleaded for union on the principle of justice to all. "Lay aside all prejudice," he said, "and accept the scheme." Cartier pleaded for the same thing and expressed his faith that the privileges of French-Canadians, Scotchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, would all be respected and that it was a benefit rather than otherwise that there was a duplicity of race. George Brown recalled the history of the colonies to point to the fact that, as he said, "Here stand today the descendants of the victors and the vanquished in the fight of 1759 with all the differences of language, religion and habit nearly as distinctly marked as they were a century ago, seeking only justice."

"What does all this mean, Mr. Speaker? It simply means that in the fight for the privileges we enjoy today the French speaking Canadians and the English speaking Canadians stood side by side. If there is special consideration in the bill before this House today given to French speaking people — and it is only a very small consideration — it is more than justified in the sentiment and facts of Canadian history.

"Let me read you one quotation to show what others living in the colonies thought. General Smuts, last year, said:

"Even the nations that have fought against it (Great Britain) like my own, must feel that their cultural interests, their language, their religion, are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your own household and your own blood. It is only in proportion as this is realised that you will fulfill the true mission which is yours."

"Is the spirit today in this Legislature worthy of the spirit which was there described? I believe it is. Remember the patriots who solved Confederation expressed the confidence that it would be sacrilege for you and me to violate it. Sir John McDonald expressed this confidence in these words:

"Does anyone imagine that when our population instead of three and a half will be seven millions, as it will be here many years pass, we would be one whit more willing than now to sever the connection with England? Would not those seven millions be just as anxious to maintain their allegiance to the Queen and their connection with the mother country as we are now?"

It seems to me so plain, Mr. Speaker. I believe that spirit is maintained in this Legislature today. (Cheers).

"My argument, Mr. Speaker, therefore has been: The purpose of the school is to build up a Canadian citizenship. Language is an important factor but it is not all. Patriotism is of the heart and not of the mouth. Non-English privileges once given, even though not used, cause a hard feeling when taken away but this is compensated for in the extra time given to the language of communication. French speaking children are, because of the peculiar facts of history, in a different position — not because they are better or worse but because their claims are in the nature of an historic right.

"Last evening I came to this conclusion; that the main bone of contention between myself and some of the honorable members of this House is the fact that there is in the bill that which gives special consideration to the French Canadian. I have endeavored to give my reasons for supporting the bill. I am convinced that as I see it I am right in the arguments I have submitted; Mr. Speaker. The great Canadian, Joseph Howe, once said:

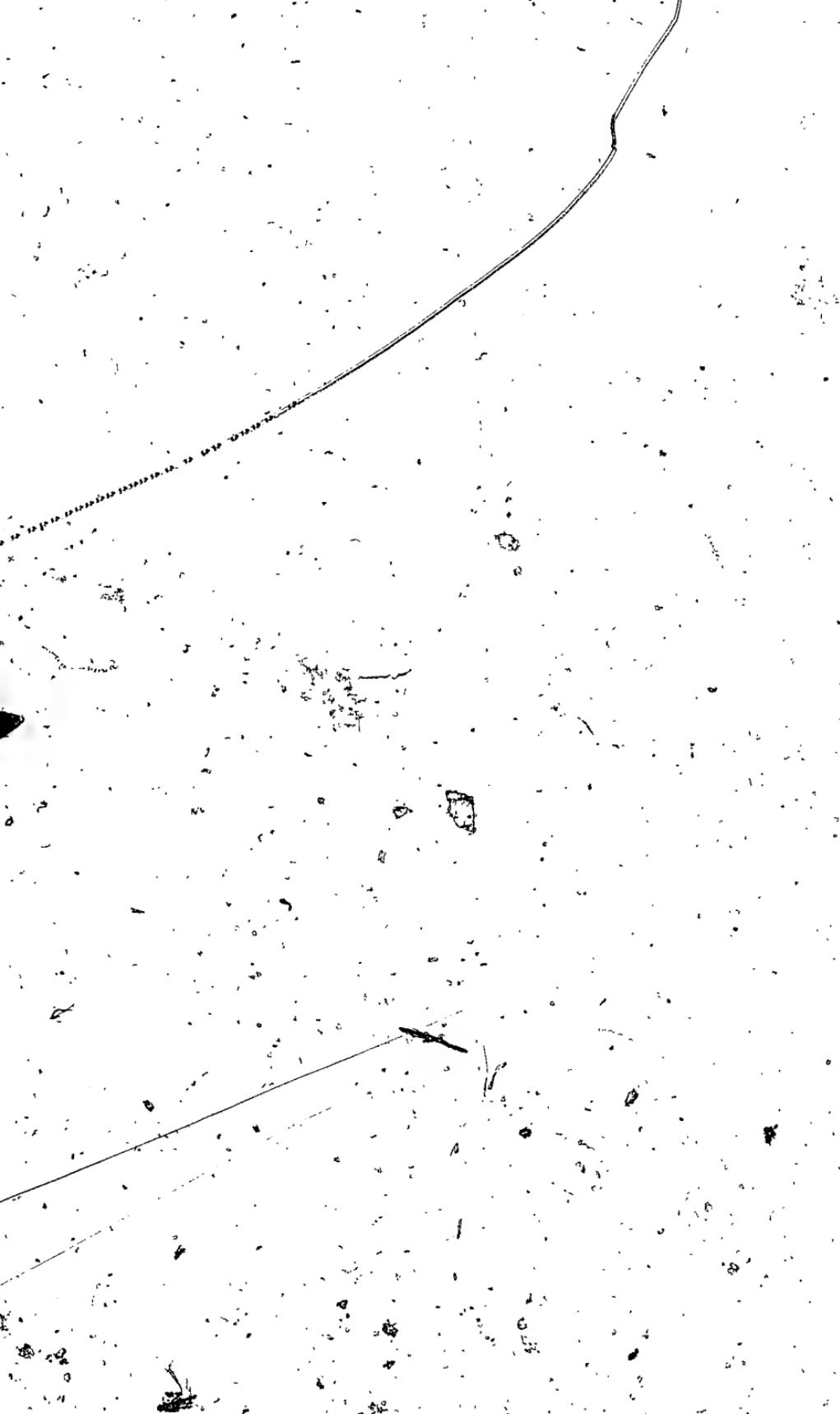
"Crowns, coronets, mitres, military display, the pomp of war, wide colonies, do not make a nation."

Today I would say that crowns, coronets, titles, limitless prairies, boundless forests, immense wealth, material progress, teeming population, do not make a nation. The nation in every country dwells in the home and unless the light and beauties of our legislation shine therein and reflect in the happiness and contentment of the people, we shall have legislated in vain and we have yet to learn the duties of government. Let us strive to develop a composite Canadian character that will have all the good things of all our peoples and then when future generations come to this province they will be able to look back with pride on the course of legislation in the past. Let us maintain this spirit and this sentiment to the end and if we succeed, when we shall be called upon to give place to others, no regrets will mar our peace of mind. (Cheers).



Hon. C. A. Dunning

Provincial Treasurer



Mr. DUNNING

"Mr. Speaker: It is not my intention to take very much of the time of the House this evening. I did not intend speaking on this question at all but the introduction of the amendment by the leader of the opposition has made it necessary for me to address a very few pointed question to the leader of the opposition and to those who have spoken from that side of the House.

If I understand the speeches of the honourable gentlemen opposite they propose to cut out of the public schools of Saskatchewan absolutely and altogether every language but the English language. That is what their speeches indicated here to-day. Let me repeat: It has been emphasized by one after another from the opposition side of the House that the Conservative Party would cut out from the public schools of Saskatchewan every vestige of other languages than English during school hours. Am I correct? Is that the impression produced on the minds of the members of this House and the people of this province by the speeches we have listened to?

And yet, Mr. Speaker, on referring to the amendment moved by the leader of the opposition I find one of the most outstanding instances of political hypocrisy that this legislature has ever witnessed. Read the amendment. What does it say? In the opinion of this Assembly the English language should be the only language of instruction in the elementary schools of the province during regular school hours. What does that mean? The leader of the opposition is a lawyer. I am no hair-splitter but I venture to say that

the leader of the opposition knows that his amendment leaves the way open for the teaching of any language in the public schools. (Cheers).

"I ask the direct question of the leader of the opposition. Does he intend this amendment to cut languages other than English entirely out of the public schools of Saskatchewan? I pause for his reply."

Mr. MACLEAN: "Read the resolution."

Mr. LANGLEY: "Give an answer."

Mr. MACLEAN: "I think I am entitled to the privilege of reply at the end of the debate and I will explain it then."

Mr. LANGLEY: "Oh, no. Answer the question. It is a very straight one."

Mr. MACLEAN: "My reply is that I intend by that amendment to cut out or eliminate from the elementary schools of this province the use of any language as a language of instruction other than the English language. That is the principle on which we stand and if I may add it coincides with"

Mr. DUNNING: "That is plain camouflage to use a word come to use as a result of the war. Every member of this House knows it. I again ask the honourable leader of the opposition to answer in plain words if the intention of his amendment is to allow the teaching of any language other than English during school hours in the province as a subject or in any way."

Mr. MACLEAN: "I will admit that I am not accustomed to the rules of the House. I do not know if this is the time that I am supposed to be answering questions put to me. I intend to deal with the matter in reply and I will say to the provincial treasurer here and now that so far as my intention is concerned I would not have any other language of instruction; and as far as languages as a subject of

study is concerned I would not have such a language as a subject of study, at any rate until very late, and in the last grade, if at all." (Laughter).

Mr. DUNNING: "At last, Mr. Speaker, we understand each other. All of the speeches of my Conservative friends opposite are for nought. I am sorry to see the honourable member from Swift Current so deceived. (Laughter). When the methods of the Conservative Party are revealed the cloven hoof is immediately in evidence.

"The whole thing is plain, Mr. Speaker. The opposition wish to be able to go to the foreign-speaking people of this province and say to them that they were willing in the House to be more generous to them than the Government. (Hear, hear). Not one of the followers of the leader of the opposition has been honest enough to say so. They have talked to the people of the province and have tried to create the impression that they are the people who would make the English language the sole language spoken in the schools and at the same time they move an amendment to the bill which would leave the door wider open for any language to be introduced into our schools. Contrast it with the clear language in the Government measure. What is it?

"Except as hereinafter provided English shall be the sole language of instruction in all schools and no language other than English shall be taught during school hours."

"As I have said, Mr. Speaker, now we know where we are. I wonder what the newspapers which have been so consistently supporting the leader of the opposition under the impression that he was the man who was going to take a broom and sweep from our schools all other languages than English will do now when he stands revealed as he does? Again I say, this is one of the most outstanding instances of political hypocrisy ever witnessed in this legislature. (Cheers).

"Every speech by a Conservative member was in favour of the abolition of every language except English in the schools and the amendment is designed for the purpose of enabling the opposition to say to the foreign-speaking people that they are the protectors of the foreign-born. It stands out clearly revealed."

Understanding that much let us examine what has been said with reference to the privilege to the French people which is proposed by the Premier in the measure before the House. It is true, as has been pointed out by the various speakers, that the French-Canadian people of the province have no legal right to their language in our schools except such as this legislature sees fit to give them. Fortunately, we are enabled to think sometimes that there is a higher right than the mere legal right. There is a moral side and a moral right. (Cheers): My friend the leader of the opposition perhaps cannot understand that, but in my judgment, as a mere layman, the moral right is considerably higher than the legal right. What is the moral right in connection with the French-Canadian people in this province? I can only summarise it. The French-Canadian people in this country are the descendants of that race which was formerly subjected to the British Crown by reason of conquest. That is indisputable. The honourable member for Thunder Creek said this country was bought for three hundred thousand pounds. I tried to find out from whom it was bought. If he were honest enough he would have been compelled to have answered from the Hudson Bay Company, and the question naturally follows where did they get it from? The answer must be from the British Crown and the British Crown got it through the treaty under which the whole country was ceded following the war with France.

"This province was just as much a part of that treaty as that part which was settled. All through the realms of the British Empire, with the French-Canadian or any other people, what has been the principle adopted? There is only

one answer. I challenge the members of the opposition to recite one instance where the British Crown has treated a conquered people with respect to language in the schools in the manner as proposed by the Conservatives here to-day in the matter of our French-Canadians. Not one instance. Not one,

"The moral right I submit for another reason. Who were the first white inhabitants of this country? The French-Canadians. They were the original pioneers in the Province of Saskatchewan. They opened it up and were in the majority as pointed out by the premier in his excellent address yesterday. And in the first Council of the North West Territories what was done by these people whom the opposition would deprive of their privilege to-day? On the principle which the members of the opposition are arguing, these French people could have deprived any English who came here of their language in the schools. What did they do? The premier told the House yesterday. One of the first ordinances that the French council passed was a regulation compelling the teaching of English in the schools of that day. (Cheers).

"That is how the French people treated us when they were in the majority in this country and held the balance of power. Are we to be less generous in the day of our power? (Cries of "No, no" and Cheers). The leader of the opposition speaks as if the French-Canadian in Canada should be quarantined in the province of Quebec. He says it is a French province. The whole tenor of his remarks was to that effect. He said Quebec is the French province of Canada. I say Quebec is in no sense an exclusively French province. The English minority, which is considerable in the province of Quebec, returning fourteen or sixteen members to the Quebec Legislature, enjoys a freedom that is not equalled by the freedom extended to any other minority in the whole world. (Cheers).

"They have the privilege of the English language in their schools; and do not forget that the Quebec legislature, composed as it is of a majority of French-Canadians, has the power to do to the English in that province what the Conservatiyves here would do to the French of our province if they had their way. They have the power to cut out the English language in the schools of Quebec. Look at the British North America Act. I will quote you chapter and verse if you desire. The only school rights safeguarded in the British North America Act are the rights of religious minorities. The provinces have absolute power over the language in the schools.

"And so I say, Mr. Speaker, that the Quebec legislature could do to-day what the opposition here would do to the French people in this province. But the boot is on the other leg. In that case it would result in the cutting out of English in the schools of Quebec.

"What is the attitude of the French-Canadians toward it? It is such as to have called forth no more recently than at the last session of the Quebec legislature a resolution from the English speaking members as a protest at statements that had appeared in Winnipeg and Toronto newspapers depicting them as an oppressed minority. They protested that they had enjoyed the most perfect freedom and expressed appreciation of the attitude of the French-Canadians toward them as a minority. Not more recently than three weeks ago, Hon. W. Mitchell, finance minister of Quebec, was speaking to me with reference to the matter, and he is the leader of the English minority in the province of Quebec and a member of the Quebec government. He said to me: "For goodness sake, Mr. Dunning, get your people out West to stop this agitation against the French-Canadian. We live with them and it is characteristic that the people who know them best appreciate them the most. Speaking for the English minority of Quebec, we have never had anything but

the greatest freedom and the most tolerant treatment in every shape and form. The truth is demonstrated in my own case. I am the leader of the English speaking minority. I am elected from a constituency in which the majority of the voters are French Canadians, but they return me. It is a matter of courtesy with them in their dealings with us and anyone who knows anything about Quebec knows that there is harmony there between the two great races." (Cheers)

"The leader of the opposition says he wishes one harmonious people and following the old Conservative method he would make them harmonious with a club. (Cheers) That is not the method that has been followed by Great Britain in dealing with this matter on any occasion.

"I make a clear distinction between the French-Canadians and our foreign-born citizens. The British Empire in its treatment of peoples has always made the same distinction. In the case of races inhabiting a country which came under British domination the fullest freedom, so far as their own customs, language and religion are concerned, has always been granted. But that privilege has never been extended to those who choose afterwards to migrate from other countries, having other customs, languages and religions. The people who were here and came under British domination had the right to their language, an always recognised right, as has been shown from the records of debates in the Imperial House and by British statesmen since the time that this country was first settled. Mr. Speaker, I ask the House and the people of Saskatchewan to be at least as generous to the representatives of the French race in this country as that race itself is generous to our English minority where they have the power to deal with it. (Cheers).

"A great deal of wind has arisen from the opposition side of the House, particularly this evening and late this afternoon, in connection with the proposal to submit this question to a referendum of the people. It is another one

of those nice sounding phrases. "Democracy, democracy." The member for Thunder Creek designated democracy as hypocrisy. A referendum on this question would be a travesty of democracy (Hear, hear). Lord Acton was quoted by the minister of highways in his address as saying you can judge a people by the way they treat the minorities among themselves.

"A referendum? Again on the principle that might is right. Why should there be a government at all if all questions could be decided by means of the method outlined by my honourable friend? It is because there are questions affecting minorities which need careful and sane consideration by a responsible body that we have such an institution as responsible government. Blind majorities are not always just, Mr. Speaker. That again is the rule of might versus right. If I were sure that honourable gentlemen would not practise the same deception on the people of this province as they have attempted here and that every elector in the province would have a clear conception of the facts of the case before him I would not hesitate to test their judgment. But when honourable gentlemen practise on us the kind of hypocrisy that is contained in this amendment I am doubtful of the result of blind majority rule, because it would be a case of the blind leading the blind, of all kinds of agitation and falsehood coupled with appeals to prejudice.

"The opposition talk of bilingualism. The member for Swift Current went back to the Tower of Babel and said that when the Almighty wished to punish a people he made them so that they could not understand each other. He is a cleric and a student of these matters. I am a mere layman, but I remember very well that when the Man of Nazareth wanted to send His message to all mankind one of the first things he conferred upon His apostles was the gift of tongues. To hear some of the members of the House one would think it was a crime to know more than one language. The

Master of all found it was necessary that His apostles should know every language, and some of the honourable members speak as though it is a crime to know more than one.

"It is true that the race to which we belong has not devoted itself, during the past hundred years, to the study of languages. We have practically said to the peoples of the world, if you want to do business with us, learn our language. The serious thinkers of Great Britain are now devoting their attention to the question, realising the handicap that the British people suffer from because of their lack of willingness to learn the languages of other people. The result has been that a joint committee of the British House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies met a few weeks ago to examine and report upon means of maintaining and increasing the general amity between the two nations. What was the nature of the report of that committee. You can read it in the recent press. It was a recommendation to the Houses of parliament of both countries that both French and English be taught in the public schools of both countries to bring about the better understanding and trade relation so necessary particularly if the great ideal of a league of nations becomes a fact. (Cheers)

"Bilingualism? My honourable friend opposite would not contend for a moment that Great Britain is not a country united in spirit. There is trouble in Ireland, but thank God, it is between Irishmen and Irishmen and they can be left to settle it themselves. The minister of highways quoted statistics to show — and they may be found in the blue books — that there are hundreds of thousands of people in Great Britain, Scotland and Wales who do not now speak the English tongue after having been under the British care for many hundreds of years.

"Again I call your attention to the British way. In Scotland there are bilingual schools all over the country. In Wales the whole system of education is bilingual. Are

the British people less loyal and united because of that? Again the principle of maintaining language and religion to a conquered people. My Welsh friends will perhaps remind me that Wales was never conquered, and my Scotch friends as well, but at least they have passed under the control of a common and dominant nationality in so far as language is concerned, but their language privileges were left and the precedent has been secured to our own day at every point where the French Canadians have been dealt with by the British government.

"We need more tolerance and respect for each others opinions. We will never become a united people by means of the club method. I do not expect to make any of these people British or Canadians by compulsion. The German government have tried it for years and could not successfully work it out. There are three million French-Canadians in this country, the descendants of the original French-Canadians at the time of the conquest. They are a people who increase in number very rapidly. Members of the opposition are deceiving themselves when they think they can take away the language of three million people.

"Another reason I have for separating carefully the French-Canadians from the foreign-speaking people of our country is this: The foreign-speaking citizens had a small privilege in respect to language. From the figures given yesterday you realise the small extent to which the foreign speaking citizens have availed themselves of that privilege. On the other hand it is a matter of record that practically every French-Canadian community in this province has always taken advantage of the language right conferred forty years ago. They have used the privilege to preserve all that is best in the French-Canadian nationality as they have the right to do.

"More than that. I desire unity and harmony in this country just as much as the leader of the opposition. But

I do not propose to get it by his method. I think the method mentioned to me by the honourable member for Arm River the other evening as being practised in the public schools of his home town, is the method. What is it? The honourable member for Arm River told me that in the public schools of his town there is not a French speaking pupil, but French is taught as a subject in the public school. The English speaking people of our province under this proposed law will have the opportunity of teaching French in their public schools and I believe the final solution of the language problem in Canada will arrive when every child from ocean to ocean has an opportunity of acquiring both languages. (Cheers).

